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Muslims in Croatia Face Rising Incidents Of Expulsion and Bias

By Jonathan S. Landay

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ZAGREB, CROATIA

EARLIER this month, police in the port city of Rijeka rounded up 18 Bosnian Muslim employees of a local company and told them they were being expelled from Croatia.

The men were escorted aboard a ferry bound for the central Adriatic port of Split, from where they were to have been taken to the nearby border of their war-ravaged homeland.

But the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) received a tip-off and sent a fieldworker to meet the ferry when it docked. The UN officer took the men under his protection and placed them in a refugee camp.

UN officials say the case is one of a growing number of incidents that are fueling concerns of a backlash against Bosnian Muslims in Croatia. Ever since Bosnian Croat attacks triggered fighting in central Bosnia in March, and Bosnian Muslims responded with a vigorous offensive, Muslims living in Croatia have experienced harassment.

"This incident is alarming," says UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler. UN sources say other cases include:

- Evictions of Bosnian Muslims from state refugee centers.
- Police harassment of Bosnian Muslim refugees.
- The forced conscription of 13 Bosnian Muslim refugees in the Croatian Army.
- The disappearance from a suburban Zagreb police station of "a lot" of Bosnian Muslim refugees, who were later forced to join a militia in the Bosnian Croat stronghold of Tomislavgrad.

"It will get worse," predicts a UN official.

Muslim Slavs make up about 80 percent of the more than 250,000 refugees from Bosnia now being sheltered in Croatia. Another estimated 100,000 Bosnian Muslims lived in Croatia

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Accused of apostasy, an Egyptian scholar faces the long arm of his country's Islamic movement

Court Case Casts Doubts On Secularism in Egypt

By Deborah Pugh

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CAIRO

THE world of Ebtehal Younes has fallen apart in the last month. A professor of French civilization and literature at Cairo University, she is happily married to a respected Egyptian academic named Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid, a specialist in early Islamic political thought.

But her marriage is being threatened by a bizarre court case that calls into question the vitality of secular law in Egypt at a time when Islamic militants are attacking the government.

In their detailed petition to an Egyptian civil court, a group of Islamist lawyers has argued that Dr. Abu Zeid has betrayed his faith because his writings challenge fundamentalist interpretations of Islam. The lawyers are believed to be close to the Muslim Brotherhood, a banned but tolerated Islamist political group that has been linked to more radical Muslims who want to create an

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ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Budget Cuts Threaten California's Recovery

State fiscal plan is expected to generate new round of layoffs

By Daniel B. Wood

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

THE window has closed on the prospects for recovery for the world's seventh-largest economy this year. The next opening: spring of 1994, say a number of economists.

California is suffering from its worst recession since the 1930s. While the nation continues in modest recovery, the Golden State is being socked yet again by the prospect of further layoffs, this time in government. As details of California's new $52.1 billion state budget trickle out to cities and towns, local governments are contemplating the cutting of thousands of employees, from parks to libraries to welfare and service agencies.

"The cuts that are being considered are mind-boggling," says David Hensley, director of the Business Forecasting Unit at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). In his quarterly report released today, Mr. Hensley predicts that a minimum of 21,000 jobs will be lost in state and local government in the fiscal year beginning July 1. The number could be far higher because state estimates that it would transfer billions in property-tax revenues away from local governments to public schools were initially much lower.

"My sense of things is that the public does not have any indication of how bad these losses can be and what the multiplier effects will be," Hensley says. When earlier state estimates hinted that $1.3 billion might be withheld from local governments across the state, Los Angeles County alone estimated 9,500 lost jobs, he notes. But the final state figure, approved this week, is double that: $2.6 billion.

"These new layoffs have definitely helped pull the rug from any chances the state might have to escape from the doldrums this year," adds Jack Kyser, chief economist for the Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation. "Housing and construction are still off, aerospace is way down, and manufacturing numbers are dropping statewide."

The overall bad news is being mitigated by some improvement

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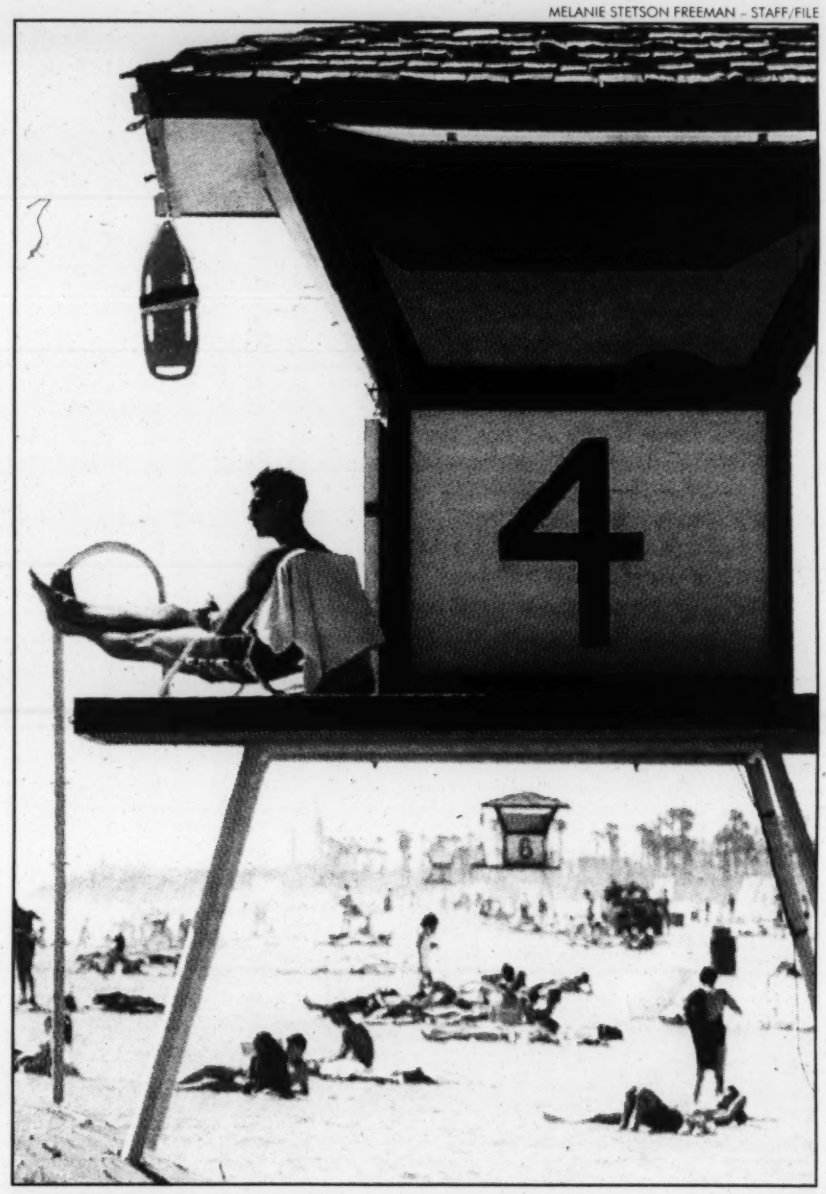
MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF/FILE



ENDANGERED SPECIES? *Projected cuts in local government jobs could even hit fabled California lifeguards. The state may withhold up to $2.6 billion from local governments, twice the amount estimated earlier.*

Integrating 'Southie'
Boston's mayor eased desegregation in public housing. Part 2 in a series on the legacy of Raymond Flynn.
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Large Losses for Lloyd's of London
The British underwriter turns to corporate investors for survival.
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Eyeing Equality In Hollywood
The TV and film industries are under pressure to hire more minorities.
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AFRICA UPDATE

Nigerian Dictator Stops Return to Civilian Rule

NIGERIA'S military dictator voided the June 12 presidential elections yesterday, again blocking the country's return to civilian rule.

"These steps were taken to save our judiciary from being ridiculed and politicized locally and internationally," said a military decree signed by the ruler, President Ibrahim Babangida.

The results of the elections, which apparently were won by business tycoon Moshood Abiola, had been ordered suppressed by the Abuja High Court on June 15 after supporters of General Babangida claimed they were rigged. Yesterday's ruling did not say whether new elections would be held.

Babangida had promised to end the military's decade-long grip on power on Aug. 27, but was suspected of planning to derail the transition. He has ruled since 1985, when he toppled another military regime.

Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has been under military rule for 23 of its 33 years of independence.

The elections were widely criticized. Mr. Abiola and his rival, Bashir Tofa, another wealthy industrialist, were close friends of the general, who created their political parties and banned other factions. Despite his friendship with Babangida, Abiola had declared himself the winner. He drew broad-based support even though turnout was estimated at only 30 percent.

UN Monitors to Rwanda

About 100 United Nations peacekeepers have been sent to the Uganda-Rwanda border to try to stop Rwandan rebels from smuggling in weapons. The monitors, approved by the Security Council on Tuesday, could be the vanguard of a 2,000-member UN truce supervision mission, UN officials say.

The rebels and the Rwandan government have been talking in Arusha, Tanzania, for weeks, trying to reach a truce and a political settlement. A signing ceremony for a peace accord is expected today, UN spokesman Joe Sills says.

Hundreds of people have been killed and an estimated 1 million more forced from their homes by three years of fighting in northern Rwanda. The rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front, which is mostly made up of minority Tutsis, invaded Rwanda from Uganda in October 1990. Large numbers of Tutsis fled Rwanda during bloody power struggles with the majority Hutus more than three decades ago.

– Compiled by Cynthia Hanson

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INTERNATIONAL

Iranian's Waning Support Causes Worry in the West

By Stephen Hubbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TEHRAN

THE mediocre showing posted by the Iranian leader in presidential elections earlier this month may further destabilize both the Persian Gulf and Central Asia, and poses tough new challenges for the Clinton administration, Western diplomats here say.

When President Hashemi Rafsanjani pulled 63 percent of the vote in the June 11 contest, far short of the mandate many had predicted he would receive, his moderate supporters feared for his program of political and economic liberalization.

But many observers here argue the more immediate danger is that Mr. Rafsanjani's tentative overtures to the West will be replaced by the aggressive xenophobia of his predecessor, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

With inflation as high as 50 percent, unemployment rising, and government corruption rampant at the end of his first four-year term, Rafsanjani may no longer be able to focus on seeking improved ties with the West.

Consequently, diplomats say, Rajsanjani's radical challengers will be encouraged to push their own anti-Western initiatives without the president's blessing.

"It's always been a characteristic of Iranian foreign policy to kiss you on the cheek and then kick you in the shin," says one prominent diplomat here.

"There are too many centers of power here. The left hand often does not know what the right hand is doing. There are radical sectors that support terrorism without the authorization of the government."

Iran has been isolated since the 1979 revolution, which brought Khomeini to power and heralded an era of Islamic puritanism. Tehran's support for Islamic fundamentalist movements throughout the Middle East has perpetuated that alienation.

Analysts familiar with Iran believe Rafsanjani has opposed efforts by the more radical religious leaders, called mullahs, to export the Islamic revolution. He has had a subtle moderating influence on foreign policy, they note.

"Rafsanjani doesn't need this stuff," said one embassy source of Iran's practice of bankrolling Islamic insurgent movements abroad. "Most of it goes on without his knowledge."

The president had been hoping to parlay his reputation as a moderate pragmatist into increased political and commercial contacts with the West. He has quietly made overtures to Washington and European capitals.

His appeal, however, is going unheard.

The Clintion administration, as recently as June 8, urged its European allies to cut their military and financial links with Tehran.

The administration has adopted a policy of "dual containment," which seeks to impose equal economic and military isolation on both Iran and Iraq to keep either from gaining dominance.

MANNOOCHER ROJON/AFP/FILE

RAFSANJANI: *Iran's leader must contend with militants at home, persistent international isolation, and new tensions with Turkey.*

The policy breaks with the Reagan and Bush approach of favoring one state over the other.

Diplomats in the region express concern that Rafsanjani's failure to build economic bridges to the West will embolden foreign policy hard-liners, led by Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, to continue Tehran's rearmament program. Iran, whose military was vastly depleted during the eight-year war with Iraq, has reportedly purchased three submarines from Russia in recent months and may also be at work on nuclear- and chemical-weapons programs.

They also worry that radical mullahs, who run wealthy charitable foundations that are often used as covers to fund paramilitary activity, will increase their support for Muslim extremist movements in the Middle East, such as Hamas in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank, Hizbullah in Lebanon, and Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front.

But pressure to export the Islamic revolution may be the least of Rafsanjani's foreign policy worries.

"He's got potentially hostile neighbors on all frontiers," a Western diplomat says. "He doesn't have a single border he can be totally confident of."

As long as Iran perceives that its national security is threatened, it will continue its armament program, experts say. Iran shares a 700 mile-long border on its Western flank with archrival Iraq, against whom it fought a bloody war from 1980 to 1988. Both sides employ proxies to strike against targets deep inside the other's territory.

At a recent news conference, Defense Minister Akbar Torkan said: "The Iraqi regime is sick. There is no chance of improving relations [with Baghdad]."

Tehran also complains that the presence of US military forces in the Persian Gulf, which are there to deter Iraqi aggression, could easily be used against Iran.

But the biggest threat to regional stability may come from Iran's increasingly heated competition with Turkey for supremacy in the Muslim republics of former Soviet Central Asia.

Turkey has succeeded in gaining influence in newly independent Azerbaijan. Ethnic Azeris, who are Turkish speakers, make up almost 40 percent of Iran's population, and the government can ill afford to watch its rival tighten its grip on the loyalty of a key population group.

"The next major conflict in this area will be between Iran and Turkey," predicts one well-informed foreign analyst in Tehran.

The mullahs also resent Turkey's secular political traditions and its membership in NATO.

"The trouble with Iran's foreign policy is that there are now 10 or 20 countries in the world whose primary enemy is Iran," a diplomat says. "That's just not going to go away."

Mexico's Drug Crusade Nets Police Officials

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

SINCE the killing of a Roman Catholic cardinal last month stunned Mexico, a revitalized crusade against narcotrafficking has so far produced a new crime-fighting agency, captured a drug kingpin, and is exposing a growing web of police complicity.

On Monday, former Mexico City police chief Santiago Tapia Aceves was arraigned on charges of accepting a $50,000 bribe, then releasing drug lord Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzmán Loera. Mr. Guzmán was reportedly arrested in 1991 for illegal possession of drugs and weapons. The current Mexico City police chief is also being investigated and two former high-ranking police officers are being sought in connection with the scandal.

Guzmán was recaptured in Guatemala on June 9 after an intense manhunt. He is believed to be the target of a bungled "hit" by a rival Mexican drug cartel that resulted in the fatal shooting of Cardinal Juan Jesús Posadas Ocampo in Guadalajara.

Meanwhile, Mexico's Attorney General Jorge Carpizo MacGregor continues to clean house. Last week, Mr. Carpizo fired 67 federal agents suspected of illicit activities, including some top advisers and state commanders. Last weekend, Carpizo's office announced it was bringing criminal charges against three Supreme Court magistrates.

On June 16, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari created a new federal agency, the National Institute to Combat Drugs, to put all resources and law-enforcement efforts under one command.

"The institute is a good idea," comments Colegio de Mexico narcotics expert Celia Toro.

"It should help prevent the contamination [by narcotraffickers] from reaching to all parts of the attorney general's office," she says.

Despite what many analysts see as positive steps by the Salinas administration, the political fallout – particularly abroad – may be difficult to overcome.

"It's a terrible public relations setback," comments one United States official. "Salinas is trying to project an image of a developed country where law and order and democracy prevail," he says. "But that's not the image projected when you have narcotics gangs spraying each other in the streets and allegations of corrupt public servants."

And it may hurt prospects for ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). "Some US congressmen will use the cardinal's death to justify their "No" vote," the official adds.

Mr. Salinas's critics charge the latest antinarcotrafficking steps are solely motivated by NAFTA politics.

But political analyst Alfonso Zárate Flores says Salinas has both a domestic and international constituency to satisfy.

"The Posadas shooting put at risk two things Salinas has worked very hard to build: a closer relationship with the Catholic Church and the free trade agreement," he says.

There are dozens of conspiracy theories circulating about the cardinal's death that don't jibe with the official version that he was mistaken for Guzmán.

The Mexican government admits the official version doesn't fit with the testimony of some witnesses. And, the gunmen suspected of killing Posadas are still loose.

A protest march is planned for Saturday. Yet, despite the public outcry, a poll taken last week shows Salinas's popularity rating has not fallen since the Guadalajara incident. It still hovers at about 55 to 60 percent.

Mr. Zárate speculates that the Mexican public doesn't see a corrupt police force as a major stain on Salinas's overall policy record. "Police corruption dates back for decades. Perhaps people see it as an unsolvable problem," he says.

MAGALLAN/AFP/FILE

DRUG SEIZURE: *Police in Mexico City present 4.2 tons of pure cocaine they seized in a narcotrafficking operation in May 1991. Because of the public outcry over the shooting of Cardinal Juan Jesus Posadas Ocampo, President Salinas created a new agency to put all resources and law-enforcement activities under a single command.*

EC Chiefs Warm to East Europe, Warn US on Trade Ties

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COPENHAGEN

THE European Community has resisted mounting pressure to resort to protectionism to safeguard its troubled economy – at least for now.

In their final words as they left their two-day summit in Copenhagen Tuesday, EC leaders offered no sign of the kind of market protectionism and defensiveness that French President François Mitterrand had urged earlier.

The 12 EC countries endorsed a rapid reprise of international trade liberalization talks, with a view to completing the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations by the end of the year.

Even more significant – especially given the EC's usual economic defensiveness toward its Eastern European neighbors and projections of a 0.5 percent shrinking of the Community economy this year – is the adoption of a landmark set of measures that pave the way for closer economic and political ties with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The measures, affecting Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Bulgaria, include quicker and broader access to Western European markets, and for the first time pledge that the East's six most advanced countries "shall become members" of the EC, if they choose, once they meet certain economic and political conditions. The EC already has "association" agreements for intensified economic and political cooperation with the six countries.

Yet despite the EC leaders' upbeat tone – orchestrated purposely to try to dispel what Mr. Mitterrand called a "psychology of doubt" hanging over the EC – there were signs of trouble ahead.

On GATT, the leaders' communiqué read like an open letter to the United States. In an overall get-tough tone, the statement signaled that the Community is not in a compromising frame of mind on the numerous points of contention with its world trading partners that have held up the talks since December 1990.

In their GATT conclusions, the leaders said "real progress" in the negotiations on trade in services and intellectual property depended on "contributions from all GATT partners," a statement showing the EC contention that the US remains too closed in these areas. They also called for creation of a "new, rules-based world trading system in which unilateral action is ruled out," a clear reference to US trade law, which mandates retaliatory measures on countries that "dump," or underprice, their products in US markets.

By calling on the EC's Commission to pursue the Uruguay Round talks "while preserving the European identity throughout the negotiations," the leaders appeared to back the view of France and other, mostly southern, EC countries, that in agriculture and audiovisual products, too much openness risks eroding a distinct European culture.

FRANCE and other EC countries reject international trade laws that force them to give up strict quotas on programming of American movies and TV series on their television channels. Generally these same countries argue that liberalized agricultural trade would doom Europe's rural populations and thus condemn a traditional way of life.

The summit's text meant an EC-US accord on agricultural trade from last November "is not cut in marble," said French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. The US opposes reopening the contentious agriculture issue, which would almost certainly result in additional delays in the trade round's conclusion.

Despite the wording, however, Mitterrand acknowledged that the EC still does not "speak with one voice on GATT, because a number of points of disagreement remain."

Aside from the tariff reductions, the EC will set up a joint legal committee to help the six eastern countries tailor their legislation to EC law, and will extend an economic and technical aid program for infrastructure development.

The summit conclusions also appear to give a picture of the Community that current EC leaders envision for early in the next century. They call for entry into the Community of Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Norway, four countries in membership negotiations, on Jan. 1, 1995, plus subsequent admission for the Eastern European six. Mention is also made of the applications of Malta and Cyprus.

But for countries farther east, such as Ukraine, nothing beyond "cooperation" is specified.

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Islamic state in Egypt.

"Apostasy dissolves a marriage," the lawyers wrote, arguing that according to Muslim traditions no Muslim woman should live with an apostate. They are seeking a court order demanding that Dr. Younes either separate from her husband or be considered an adultress.

The case, Abu Zeid says, is but the latest chapter in a campaign by Egypt's mainstream Islamist movement to intimidate liberal Muslims who have criticized the intellectual foundations of fundamentalism. An associate professor of Arabic at Cairo University, Abu Zeid has a long string of publications to his credit.

"It began when I would not quietly accept my failure to gain promotion [as a full professor at Cairo University], after it was blocked on nonacademic grounds," Abu Zeid explains. "That stirred up a lot of controversy as to whether Cairo University was a secular or religious institution.

"This court case is an attempt to support those who criticized my work by trying to convict me of apostasy and then destroy my marriage," he adds.

The case first opened earlier in June at a civil court in Greater Cairo and was promptly adjourned until Nov. 4 at the request of the prosecuting lawyers, who requested time to consult Egypt's leading Islamic institution, Al-Azhar University.

The institution will establish an ad hoc committee to judge whether Zeid's work is anti-Islamic. Religious scholars associated with Al-Azhar have been widely criticized for encouraging religious intolerance.

"When we first saw this accusation in the paper, I thought it was just another silly attack on my husband," Younes explains bitterly. "But when our lawyer told us that it was a serious case, all I felt was disgust. Who can imagine that Egyptian law would permit such an interference?"

Despite the shock the case has generated among Egyptians, the lawyers have a legal right to bring it before Egypt's civil courts. An archaic statute allows any concerned individual to raise a case that concerns the "rights of God." The dense legal document put forward by the lawyers argues that the protection of the purity of Egypt's Muslim society necessitates the separation of Younes and Abu Zeid.

The fact that Al-Azhar is being brought into the case disturbs observers who say that it marks another step in the Islamization of Egyptian political life. That trend began in the 1970s, when then-President Anwar Sadat decided to increase his image as a pious Muslim by declaring *sharia* or Islamic holy law as the foundation of Egyptian law. Using this as their legal argument, Islamists have been pushing increasingly in recent years to extend the application of sharia through every aspect of the legal code.

A LEADING Egyptian lawyer says that the fact that the case was not rejected out of hand by the presiding judge reflects the changing political climate in Egypt and the pervasive influence of fundamentalism in state institutions. He says the case has worrying consequences for Egypt's future as a secular state where individuals have the freedom of speech and expression.

"For some years Egyptian judges have been working in Saudi Arabia on secondment [unpaid leave] in return for large salaries and this has had an influence on their attitudes," complains the lawyer, who requested to remain anonymous. "The Saudi system is strictly according to the sharia."

For his part, Zeid is infuriated by the attempt to label him an apostate. "I consider myself a better Muslim than any of them," he says. "I am trying to protect Islam from political manipulation. Let us understand Islam as a historical and social phenomenon. This doesn't mean that we ignore its sacred source, but we must remember that it has been revealed in the interests of humanity."

Meanwhile, his wife must come to terms with a case that is likely to drag on for years. Should the court rule against their marriage, she could be faced with the choice of leaving her husband or being condemned as an adultress. According to sharia, the punishment for adultery is death by stoning.

Abu Zeid has already received threatening anonymous letters that underline that the immediate risk in this situation is not that the courts will move against the couple but that the legal action by moderate Islamists will inspire their militant cousins to take the law into their own hands.

Last June, Farag Fouda, like Abu Zeid an Egyptian academic with the habit of arguing publicly against the Islamists, was gunned down in front of his office. His killers are now on trial in Cairo. Key to their defense is that an ad hoc committee of Al-Azhar had declared Fouda's writings as anti-Islam.

For Abu Zeid, the parallels are discomforting.

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while it was part of former Yugoslavia and became citizens after it gained independence.

Croatian officials concede that Bosnian Muslims could be at risk as the Bosnian Army presses an offensive that has uprooted an estimated 60,000 Bosnian Croats and seen atrocities committed by both sides.

"I cannot say what will happen in the future," says Adalbert Rebic, the head of Croatia's refugee office. "They are safe for now, and I hope there will be no reaction."

But in interviews refugees and citizens recount experiences of discrimination and harassment. They say they are terrified that they could eventually be expelled from Croatia and forced to return to the small amount of territory controlled by the Muslim-led Bosnian government.

'There is talk that they are going to ask us to leave. The government has not said anything, but on the trams and buses they say things.'

– Najla, a Muslim in Zagreb

"It is different than it used to be," said a woman named Najla, who has been living in a former workers' hostel in Zagreb since she was driven from her home in the northern Bosnian town of Kotor Varos by Bosnian Serb "ethnic cleansing" in May 1992. "There is talk that they are going to ask us to leave," she says, declining to give her full name. "The government has not said anything, but on the trams and buses they say things."

"They tell us we should not wear our [traditional Muslim] head scarves, that we should take off our Muslim uniforms," she adds. "How can you not be scared? You are in somebody else's country."

"There has been an increase in complaints of harassment since the fighting began," says Sevko Omarbasic, who has been Croatia's chief Islamic cleric for 20 years. He adds that many Bosnian Muslim refugees are seeking his help in obtaining exit visas.

"I had four cases this morning who said they want to leave Croatia because they feel insecure walking on the street," he says. "People want to leave before something happens."

The cleric stresses that there is no official policy of discrimination by the regime of President Franjo Tudjman.

"Croatia is probably the most generous asylum country in Europe," agrees the UN's Kessler, reiterating that it also hosts more than 260,000 Croatian refugees both from Bosnia and the 35 percent of its own territory overrun by Serb rebels in the 1991 war.

But some Croats conceded that ordinary people are becoming increasingly hostile toward the Bosnian Muslims.

"If the war against the [Bosnian] Croats continues, it might cause real problems," says taxi driver Danko Smiljanic.

Popular resentment, refugees and UN officials say, has been fueled by vicious propaganda and one-sided reporting by state-run Zagreb television. The television fails to mention that it was weeks of Bosnian Croat attacks and ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslims that eventually led to the Bosnian Army offensive, the officials and refugees say.

And it has labeled Bosnian Muslims as "holy warriors" and "fundamentalists" intent on creating an Islamic state.

Some senior Croatian officials have also added to the Bosnian Muslims' insecurity. Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Seks, a hard-line nationalist, said on television this month that if the Bosnian offensive did not halt, Zagreb might have to "reconsider" its refugee policy.

But in a Monitor interview, Mr. Seks denied any change. He said he has ordered "the ministries to prevent all negative reactions that might result from what is happening in Bosnia."

His claim brought a snort of derision from Sabar, a Muslim Slav from the central Bosnian town of Konjic who has lived in Zagreb for 25 years and is now a Croatian citizen.

Speaking on condition that his real name be withheld, Sabar says he and 15 other Bosnian Muslim citizens employed at the Croatian Defense Ministry cafeteria were dismissed last week.

At the same time, Croatian workers were given new contracts, Sabar says, showing a dismissal notice signed by Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak.

He says he was told by an Army officer that he was being fired because of "the situation in Bosnia," and that another officer told him that "I am worse than the Serbs." No Defense Ministry reaction was available.

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in recent economic indicators.

The state rate of unemployment, for instance, which reached a high of 10 percent in November 1992, had fallen to 8.7 by last month. Auto sales jumped at a 21 percent annual rate the first quarter of this year, based on Department of Motor Vehicle registrations. And revised data from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the cumulative drop in jobs in California during the recession has been 562,000, far lower than a previous estimate of 800,000.

National action

But the overall health of California is linked to the economic vitality of the US, say most here. That means more improvement here depends in part on actions of the Clinton administration and Congress, which are still wrestling with efforts to find an acceptable balance between new taxes and deficit-reducing cuts in the national budget.

"The critical gut issue for California recovery is at what speed the nation recovers and what the Clinton administration will do to accelerate that," says Robert Arnold, senior economist at the Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy in Palo Alto. "Right now, we are relying on low interest rates to get out, which has meant the slowest recovery since World War II."

In keeping its California forecast gloomy, the UCLA forecasting unit has downgraded its estimate of US gross domestic product (GDP) growth from its March report's 3.5 percent to 2.5 percent. But both Mr. Arnold and Mr. Kyser say that adjustment is overly negative. "The Japanese economy will be in recovery soon and, with fingers crossed, so will Western Europe," Kyser says. "I don't see the US falling off that far next year."

Other key indicators from the Hensley quarterly report are:

■ House prices have continued to fall over the past three years, with most markets showing consistent price declines through April. Despite such sinking prices and record-low mortgage rates, which have made housing more affordable in California, home sales have not been strong enough to spur new construction.

"We have speculated that falling house prices are undercutting demand because potential buyers fear they will suffer a capital loss," the report says. A sharp drop-off in net immigration also undercuts demand for housing.

■ Manufacturing jobs have dropped 4.5 percent this year and may drop 2.2 percent in 1994. The decline in aerospace jobs is 16.2 percent, up from a 10.8 percent drop in 1992. Losses of 9.1 percent and 7.5 percent are predicted for 1994-95, respectively.

Conversion prospects

Kyser, however, sees other reasons for optimism that are not reflected in statistics: a new high-tech council in Los Angeles, which will oversee the conversion of aerospace firms to other uses; new Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, who will take office July 1 and is expected to ease regulation of businesses in southern California; new funding initiatives in the Rebuild L.A. effort, and a good year projected for tourism.

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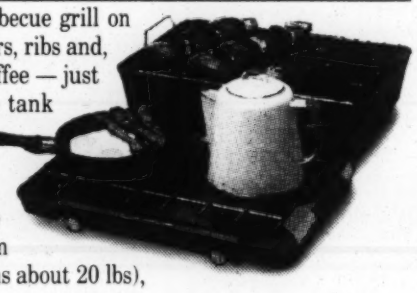

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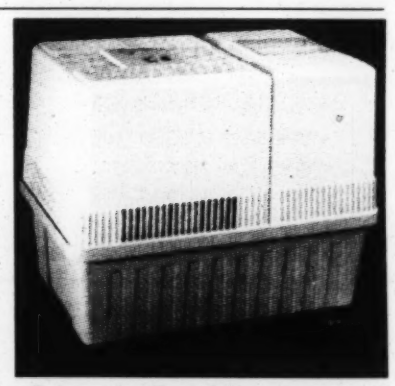

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BOSTON
The Flynn Years

Tuesday: Education
Today: Housing
Friday: Police
Monday: Neighborhoods

INTEGRATING PUBLIC HOUSING

■ A 1987 Housing and Urban Development review found that Boston's system of placing public-housing applicants discriminated against minorities. HUD's review concluded that minorities were discouraged from living in East Boston, Charlestown, and South Boston.

Previously, the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) used housing project-based waiting lists, leaving tenants placed in projects based on where their race predominated.

HUD also found that the BHA was not offering applicants HUD's "open housing options" whereby applicants could opt to live in a housing project other than where their own race predominated. If applicants chose this option, they would get faster housing placement.

■ In July 1988, Mayor Raymond Flynn, the BHA, and HUD worked out a compliance agreement to reform the system. The process now uses only one citywide list so applicants are placed in housing based on when they apply regardless of race.

■ In the summer of 1988, Mr. Flynn met with residents to ease integration in South Boston when two black families moved there in July. More black families moved into other white housing projects in the next few months.

■ In 1989, as a result of a lawsuit filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the city was required to provide monetary compensation to the minority tenants discriminated against before 1987.

– E. R.

Boston mayor eased the transition toward integrating public housing on his own turf

Flynn Opens the Door in 'Southie'

By Elizabeth Ross
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

IN a small park outside the Old Colony public housing project in South Boston, Linda watches her granddaughter, Kelsie, play in the sunshine.

On a quiet, sunny afternoon, it is hard to imagine the racial tension some residents feel living at this 500-unit housing complex nestled in the Boston community known as "Southie."

But here in this predominantly white, Irish neighborhood, residents do not always take kindly to newcomers. And since Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn pushed forward racial integration of South Boston's three public housing projects here in the late 1980s, white Old Colony residents like Linda (who would not give her last name) have seen an increasing number of African-Americans and other minorities move here.

According to Linda, living at Old Colony has been peaceful. "It's always quiet here," she says. "I have a black neighbor that lives next door, and there's one across the street, and I have been here 15 years and have never had any problem."

Old Colony now has approximately 20 percent minority residents – a major step forward compared to the situation in 1987 when it was less than 1 percent integrated, according to Boston Housing Authority (BHA) administrator David Cortiella.

Racial makeup of the other two Southie developments has also changed. The Mary Ellen McCormack development is now 20 percent integrated (it was less than 1 percent in 1987) and the West Broadway project sits at 35 percent integrated (less than 2 percent in 1987), according to Mr. Cortiella.

Mayor's home community

During his 9-1/2 years as Boston's mayor, Mr. Flynn oversaw the integration of public housing in Southie, the mayor's home community, which was once the center of racial hostility during court-ordered busing in the 1970s.

Although the mayor did not initiate the process, Flynn helped maintain racial harmony when housing integration took place in South Boston in the late 1980s.

Helping blacks move into Southie public housing was a crucial issue for the mayor after a 1987 audit of the city's housing department by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. HUD cited a pattern of discrimination whereby whites were given priority over blacks for housing in South Boston.

Facing a loss of federal funds and possible federal-court supervision of the city's public housing, Flynn entered into a voluntary agreement with HUD to end the discrimination. In July 1988, the first two black families moved into the Mary Ellen McCormack development.

In the weeks preceding the move, the Boston mayor met with community leaders, organized a police presence during integration, and urged the news media to use restraint in reporting the sensitive situation.

"I felt an obligation to [the people in South Boston] that I had to level with them, tell them the truth. I said to them around the integration of the housing: 'Look, either I'm going to do it or some federal judge is going to do it. Who do you want?' " Flynn says.

"We had a history in this city when politicians didn't want to make those decisions and federal judges made those decisions for them. And so, what I said was as long I was their mayor, I was going to make those decisions and work with them," he adds.

Little racial tension

Only sporadic instances of racial tension followed, certainly nothing like the racial turmoil that following a 1974 federal court ruling that Boston schools be desegregated.

African-American residents in Southie generally "don't have time to get into issues of race, bigotry, and hatred," says Louis Elisa, president of the Boston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "They have everyday problems that exist, and they try to resolve them."

Mr. Elisa says housing integration has improved, but more work needs to be done. In fact, although overall minority integration has increased at the South Boston housing complexes, the percentage of African-American tenants is still small, with only 6 percent at Old Colony, 6 percent at Mary Ellen McCormack, and 10 percent at West Broadway, according to March BHA statistics. Today, 174 black families live in the three developments.

"I don't think we have reached the level we need to be [at] in order to say that we have an open public-housing program," Elisa says.

Indeed, the feeling among black South Boston public-housing residents is mixed.

One woman in her late 20s says her pregnant sister, who lives at Old Colony with her boyfriend and four young children, has experienced nothing but harassment from white residents of the housing project. She says that her sister, who also would not give her name, had put in for a transfer out of the project where she has lived for three years.

"These people are very prejudiced. My sister's kids have been teased, had rocks thrown at them, and have been told 'go back where you came from.' She's stopped letting them outside," she says.

She describes how her brother's car, while parked out front, has been vandalized three times in a couple of months. Other cars parked there had not been touched, she adds.

"We don't want to walk around. We go straight to the store and come back. Or we have someone pick us up in a car, and we're gone," she continues. "Police officers are not the answer. You don't get any help from the housing police as soon as they see you're black."

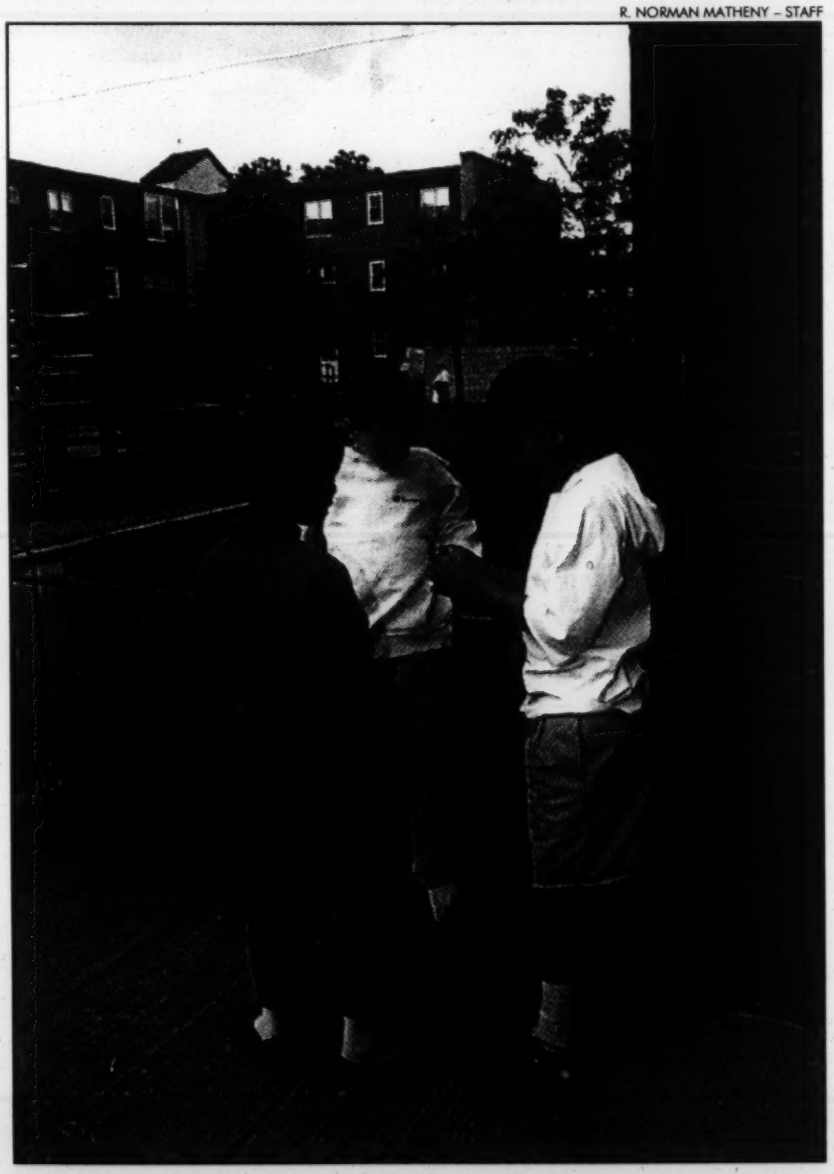
But some black residents have a different view.

Mary Mathurin, who has nine children, has lived in Old Colony for four years. She said she was harassed and bothered by name-calling. But now things have changed, and she truly enjoys living in Southie.

"At first, when I came into South Boston, I got into problems with white students," Ms. Mathurin says. "But now I don't have any troubles with white students."

■ *Shelby Siems contributed to this report.*

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



CHILDREN PLAY TOGETHER AT WEST BROADWAY HOUSING PROJECT: *The integration of South Boston public housing was initiated by the federal government but planned by local officials who helped black families move into all-white areas. Many credit Mayor Flynn with making the process peaceful.*

NATIONAL

SUPREME COURT NOMINEE

Feminist Pioneer No Longer at Cutting Edge

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

DEBORAH MERRITT, who was in Ruth Bader Ginsburg's first set of clerks as a federal judge, is now a full professor of law at the University of Illinois – the kind of opportunity that Judge Ginsburg helped open to women as a lawyer in the 1970s.

But she says that Judge Ginsburg is just as proud that Ms. Merritt's husband, a former law professor and now a country musician, takes an equal share of child-care responsibility.

The ideal that President Clinton's first Supreme Court nominee has always held out is of extending the same expanded choices and opportunities to men and women. In the 1970s, these ideals put Ms. Ginsburg in the vanguard of the women's movement, battling in court for equal treatment of the sexes under the law.

No longer. Ginsburg's ideals have not changed, but feminists have moved in other directions, many of them looking askance at the formal equality that Ginsburg sought. "She's a liberal, which by the vanguard's standard is very conservative," says Mary Becker, a law professor at the University of Chicago.

Today, in contrast to when she took her first antidiscrimination case in 1971, "she [Ginsburg] probably represents the feminism of most women in America," says Christine Sommers, who is writing a book on the impact of feminism on American culture.

Women's views change

In 1970, 40 percent of women favored efforts to improve women's status, according to a Roper survey. In 1990, with women much advanced at school and work, 77 percent favor such efforts.

Ginsburg encountered blatant discrimination that women seldom see today. A dean at Harvard law school in 1956 hosted a dinner for the nine women in Ginsburg's entering class of over 500 and asked them each to justify why they occupied a place that could be held by a man.

After law school, law firms and judges announced candidly, she recalled in a 1989 speech, "women not wanted here."

The notion that men and women had separate spheres – women at home, men in the outside world – still had a foothold in law.

As recently as 1961, a unanimous Supreme Court decision held that women could be barred from jury service in recognition of women's place at "the center of home and family life."

RICK T. WILKING/REUTERS/FILE

JUDGE RUTH BADER GINSBURG: *President Clinton's first nominee to the high court has supported formal sexual equality, a concept that has lost favor with many front-line feminists.*

In the Ginsburg home, the division of labor was less traditional. It was early on established that Martin Ginsburg, Ruth's husband, would do the cooking. Mr. Ginsburg is a leading tax lawyer.

In 1971, as a law professor at Rutgers University, she began a Women's Rights Project within the American Civil Liberties Union.

Her battle against the notion of separate spheres for men and women is comparable to Thurgood Marshall's legal war against Jim Crow laws that treated races differently, although she argued far fewer and less earth-shaking cases.

The laws and practices she sought to overturn were often intended to protect women, and she sometimes used cases where she could represent men as plaintiffs to overturn discriminatory laws. For example, she established that Social Security survivors benefits should go to widowers as well as widows.

Many feminists have grown increasingly critical of this kind of formal equality over the years. By ignoring the differences between men and women, such as that only women get pregnant, formal equality leaves most women at a disadvantage in a man's world, according to this view.

Not all women benefit

Elite women may prosper, such as the women who make up nearly 50 percent of law school enrollments. But under same-treatment equality, society "lost protections very important to ordinary women," says Professor Becker. For example, although it was not a Ginsburg case, women lost their status as preferred custodians of small children.

Many feminists are willing to accept sex-based rules if they help empower women. Many see their goal not in allowing women to have the choices men have, but to give greater value to the roles women often seek, such as child-rearing.

Ginsburg has offered the Family and Medical Leave law as a middle-ground model, a law motivated by the needs of pregnant working women for time off but that applies to men and other family needs as well.

She is nearly always described as a judge who takes a "nuanced" view of cases, meaning she makes fine distinctions and decides cases narrowly, without broad sweep in her decisions. Barbara Flagg, a former clerk of Judge Ginsburg, says that Ginsburg has a deep commitment to a disciplined, narrowly focused role for the judiciary.

This judicial conservatism is a basis of her criticism of the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision that used privacy rights to strike down antiabortion laws. She would have preferred a less sweeping ruling based on women's right to control their own destinies, she said in a March speech.

How Ginsburg views various restrictions on abortion is not clear, but she says that the Roe decision walked out on a limb "too swiftly shaped," which proved "unstable."

US Mayors Want Money for Mandates

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

SOME things never change. The nation's mayors have always wanted more help from Washington.

Yet Jerry Abramson of Louisville, Ky., the president of the United States Conference of Mayors, insists that the image of urban leaders holding tin cups is strictly passé. "Things are changing," he says.

Indeed. The message from the annual conference here is that Washington could really help cities by reducing federal regulation and adding no more unless Congress pays to implement it. "We don't mind the mandates, but give us the money to pay for them," explains Patrick McManus, mayor of Lynn, Mass.

Lynn has built water-treatment facilities and a purification plant. Yet the Environmental Protection Agency wants it to spend $200 million more to improve sewage treatment. "That will quadruple our water rates. We literally will have water and sewer rates higher than our property-tax rates," he says.

The mayors say unfunded mandates are "secret taxes." They plan a campaign to enlighten constituents and get relief from Capitol Hill. Sen. Dirk Kempthorne (R), a former Boise, Idaho, mayor, is sponsoring a bill to stop imposition of such mandates on states and cities.

But Mr. Abramson says the bill will not pass soon. He insists that unfunded federal mandates are a chief cause of the urban fiscal crisis. Many rules became law while Republicans were in the White House. "It's the kind of ... mentality that's going to have to be changed," he said.

Many mayors said they were disappointed that President Clinton's $16.3 billion economic-stimulus plan, with some $2.5 billion for cities, did not survive a GOP filibuster and pass Congress.

Via satellite, Mr. Clinton credited mayors with fighting for his jobs plan more than any other group. But he said the debt situation would keep him from doing as much as he would like.

That gap between hope and reality was underscored by others. Henry Cisneros, Housing and Urban Development secretary, said: "I can't promise massive new programs." Yet he announced a $1.2 billion housing plan that will use AFL-CIO pension funds.

Clinton also touched on the line between spending for consumption and investment. "While the federal government may be spending too much on regulation ... and on uncontrolled health-care costs, we aren't anywhere near where we need to be in targeted investments that create jobs and opportunities," he said.

Babbitt: '...Make It Work'

WASHINGTON

THE biggest surprise in "the education of Bruce Babbitt" during his first five months as secretary of the interior: Members of Congress and their staff members "micromanage" his department at nearly every level.

"I was absolutely astonished at the degree to which Congress is present in my daily life," he said yesterday at a Monitor breakfast.

Congressional distrust of the Interior Department during the Reagan and Bush years was so intense, says Secretary Babbitt, that his budget now has "a star and asterisk by every dollar" – designating conditions for spending it and which subcommittees oversee it.

"I think I've been viewed on Capitol Hill as the advance agent of some kind of liberation force," he jokes.

The biggest controversies of his term at Interior will center around the Endangered Species Act, Babbitt says. "We have to make it work," he says. Americans cannot credibly ask Chinese to save tigers, for example, if they cannot save species in the US.

The act concerns more than just threatened species of animals.

The Spotted Owl started the lumbering-versus-conservation debate in the Cascade Mountains, "but if a creature at the top of the ecosystem is in trouble, that's a wake-up call about the whole system."

Babbitt is seeking to put scientists from different agencies together to work out plans for keeping ecosystems viable. Ten options for the old-growth forests of the Pacific Northwest are now on President Clinton's desk.

– Marshall Ingwerson

ECONOMY

Huge Losses Force Lloyd's To Look for New Funding

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

LLOYD'S of London hopes to trade its way out of a crisis that has severely dented its reputation and left thousands of investors facing ruin. The world-renowned insurance underwriter is being forced to look to large corporate investors rather than wealthy individuals for much of its future funding. Analysts say Lloyd's could still be forced out of business.

David Rowland, who took over as chairman early this year, on Tuesday told a London meeting of 1,800 investors, known as "Names," that the future offered opportunities for growth. But he announced losses of £2.9 billion (US$4.3 billion) for the 1990 accounting year, bringing total losses for the last three years to nearly £6 billion (US$8.9 billion). Mr. Rowland said the 1990 results were the "low point" in the 305-year history of Lloyd's. He warned: "They must never be repeated." Lloyd's accounts are published three years in arrears to ensure its figures are an accurate estimate of all final claims.

Trouble began for Lloyd's in the late 1980s when a series of major accidents and natural disasters strained the worldwide insurance market. Incidents included the Piper Alpha North Sea oil-rig disaster, the Exxon Valdez tanker spill, Hurricane Hugo, and the San Francisco earthquake. Under the Names system, investors pledged their resources on an unlimited liability basis.

Because of heavy market pressures and alleged mismanagement by some Lloyd's investment syndicates, thousands of Names were landed with huge bills instead of profits. Many were popular sporting figures and entertainers. The £2.9 billion loss for 1990 equates to an average of £100,000 for each of the 29,000 Lloyd's Names.

MORE than 30 action groups have been formed by unhappy Names who say they will sue Lloyd's for their losses. One group of 500 investors faces a combined loss of £1.2 billion. John Rew, chairman of the Society of Lloyd's Names, says the institution has "managed to turn disaster into an art form."

Rowland says he hopes that new limited liability rules introduced in April will persuade future investors that Lloyd's is a safe risk. But Mary Archer, chairwoman of a "hardship committee" set up to ease the plight of Names threatened with financial ruin, concedes that the institution could still face insolvency.

With capital supplied by Names expected to fall to under £8 billion in 1994 compared with £11 billion in 1991, Rowland must look to big institutions to make up the difference. If large numbers of aggrieved Names successfully sue for losses, payment will have to come partly from Lloyd's future income. Corporations reported to be interested in investing include J. P. Morgan, the United States bank, and Marsh McLennan, the world's largest insurance broker.

"The new management at Lloyd's is gambling on there being no major disasters resulting in big claims in the next couple of years. If they are wrong, Lloyd's could go down the drain," a leading insurance market analyst says.

Rowland says that losses in future accounting years would begin to tail off. He advised Names who could still do so to continue trading in the expectation of future profits. But he offered no comfort for critics who want an outside body to oversee Lloyd's and ensure that future trading is properly managed. Those campaigners got support from the London Times on Wednesday. It said the "sacred mystery" of Lloyd's was unjustified and called for the appointment of a regulator with tough policing powers.

Rowland's hope for heading off further legal action has been dashed by confirmation that a group of aggrieved Names plan a general meeting July 5. Meanwhile, London auction houses report brisk business in sales of family silver and works of art.

MATTHIEU POLAK/SYGMA

LONDON: *Underwriters bustle about the Lloyd's of London building. Facing severe financial losses, many investors, known as Names, say they will sue.*

Without Patent Reforms, Hungary Faces Trade Sanctions

By Ken Kasriel
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BUDAPEST

IN what could be a blow to United States-Hungarian ties, Washington is threatening Budapest with trade sanctions to stop what it calls the institutionalized piracy of patented American drugs.

Even without American threats, Hungary's failure to modernize its patent system could quarantine it within a shrinking circle of trade outcasts.

Hungary has avoided patent reform longer than most former East-bloc countries. Its law permits the manufacture and sale of drugs with Western-patented active ingredients if local companies alter the production process. Hungarian drugmakers call it "reproductive pharmacology;" critics call it "me-too" manufacturing or piracy. "The fine shades of the Hungarian patent law are unresolved, because you can steal with slight changes in the process," says Alajos Dornbach, a Hungarian member of parliament and reform proponent.

Bristol-Myers has not brought its flagship drug Capoten to the local market because a state-owned company's copy is too inexpensive to compete with. Sales of the copy earned the Hungarian company Egis $9.4 million last year, according to market researchers Felax-Pharmapack Hungary. Since copying is legal and therefore precludes litigation, the German drug company, Bayer AG, has lobbied the Hungarian Health Ministry to stop sales of a copy of Ciprobay, which a Bayer source calls "our most important drug."

The US Trade Representative's Office (USTR) placed Hungary on its "watch list" and "priority watch list" in 1991 and 1992 respectively. The moves were warnings that, without reforms, Budapest could face special "301" trade sanctions. After talks in March yielded no agreement, on April 30 USTR chief Mickey Kantor gave Budapest until Aug. 1 to commit to changing its patent system. Trade sanctions could end duty-free status on products which last year amounted to about $164 million, or 51 percent of Hungary's exports to the US.

The patent impasse has prevented Hungary and the US from signing a Business and Investment Treaty, which would provide legal protection for investors of both countries. By the end of last year, the $2.1-billion US investment in Hungary comprised 49 percent of all foreign capital here and exceeded American investment in the former Czechoslovakia and Poland combined. Still, a Hungarian negotiator says the treaty would offer Budapest "important psychological assurances" about US economic commitment.

"The US wants to support Hungary's opening to the West," a US trade official says. But the lack of a business treaty "makes us both look bad. If the most progressive country in eastern Europe can't conclude a basic, pro-forma agreement on investment protection with its biggest investor, what kind of message does this send?"

Budapest says it is ready to change its patent law – as its associate membership agreement with the European Community obliges it to do by 1997 – but wants to exempt 72 US-patented drugs. The USTR says this would defeat the purpose of reform.

Hungarian drugmakers face a bleak future without patent reform. Since 1990, all countries in the region, with the exception of a few central Asian republics and parts of the former Yugoslavia, have switched patent regimes or committed to doing so. Hungary, the exception, must look farther to reach shrinking markets, most of them in the third world.

"The Americans are very tough, but very fair," says Gustav Vekas, vice president of Hungary's National Office of Inventions. "The question is whether we want to go to the periphery or join the community."

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Toronto Stock Soars; But Will Balloon Pop?

By Fred Langan
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TORONTO

WHEN a stock goes from $18 (Canadian; US$14.1) to more than $110 (US$86.4) in less than a year, some people might get nervous. But not with this one, it seems: It has split two-for-one and keeps on going. "It was the second highest-priced stock on the exchange until it split the other day," says Catherine McGravey of the Toronto Stock Exchange.

The company is Newbridge Networks, an Ottawa-based firm that makes its money in arcane corners of telecommunications like multiplexing, which expands the capacity of telephone lines, particularly private networks used by companies to send data and faxes. The technology also can be used in "local area networks," where a number of personal computers are linked together.

Another specialty technology is ATM, or asynchronous transfer mode. The technology speeds the transmission of data over telephone lines by as much as 45,000 times. At that increased speed, enough additional information could be handled to turn a desktop computer into a video conferencing machine.

Sales are increasing, but so far Newbridge Networks has made more money for its investors than it ever has selling equipment.

The company is run by Terrence Matthews, a man who once before turned microchips into gold. Mr. Matthews and a partner founded Mitel in the 1970s. It, too, was an Ottawa-based manufacturer of telecommunications equipment. And it, too, was a darling of the stock market, reaching a high of $48 before coming crashing back to earth.

Mitel eventually was sold to British Telecom in 1985. Its two founders have gone their separate ways; Matthews seems to have retained the magic touch, and he has learned from his earlier experiences, analysts say.

A British immigrant to Canada, Matthews started at the bottom as a researcher with a telephone company before striking out on his own. He has struck it rich again. Mitel manufactures switches, using part hardware, part software. Newbridge's products also involve hardware and software.

ANALYSTS credit Newbridge's success not only to its technology but also to a change in strategic planning; instead of trying to sell its networking products itself, it has allied itself with major telephone companies and other big sellers of communications equipment such as Xerox.

Matthew's controlling interest in Newbridge Networks makes him a billionaire on paper. The stock price also makes the company expensive, in terms of market capitalization.

The company, with sales of $307 million and profits of $60 million, is worth $4.3 billion on the stock exchange. That puts the worth of Newbridge at about 40 percent of the market value of Northern Telecom, Canada's telecommunications giant, which had sales of $11 billion and profits of $680 million last year.

But what impresses investors is the growth in profits at Newbridge Networks – which were only $9.7 million last year – and its technology.

"Its technology is at the frontier; it has entered a niche with burgeoning growth and little substantive competition," says Cheryl Nesbitt, an analyst with Scotia McLeod Inc. of Toronto.

Newbridge Networks will earn $2.55 a share next year in American dollars, predicts Theresa Murphy, an analyst with Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Co. in New York. In Canadian dollars that would be a profit of about $130 million, more than double this year's figure.

Similar reports have fed a buying frenzy of Newbridge stock in Toronto and also on the NASDAQ exchange in the United States. Newbridge has been averaging 500,000 shares traded daily on NASDAQ, compared with about 100,000 a day in Toronto."The buying is primarily in the United States," a Toronto analyst says.

But not everyone is crazy about Newbridge. "It is overvalued," says a Toronto-based technology analyst who asked to not be identified. "American analysts are driving up the price by valuing the company in comparison with other telecommunications firms in the United States. I think the whole sector is overvalued."

BOOKS IN BRIEF

SLICK SLOGANS, TOUGH TIMES, LITTLE CASH IN A CHANGING ADVERTISING WORLD

In the advertising business, reputations can soar or plummet on the success or failure of a 30-second TV spot.

One week, a popular advertising campaign can bring kudos and turn its creators into pop-culture heroes. The next week, marketing people are derided as ruthless opportunists striving to manipulate helpless audiences. Most advertising professionals get to taste a little bit of both extremes.

Several new books provide some intriguing windows into the feast-or-famine world of the advertising industry:

INVENTING DESIRE, *by Karen Stabiner (Simon & Schuster, 351 pp., $25)* takes the reader along on a year-long visit to the headquarters of the Chiat/Day advertising agency in Venice, Calif.

Stabiner had broad access to meetings between advertising executives and clients. She was privy to the shop's internal deliberations and had daily conversations with top managers.

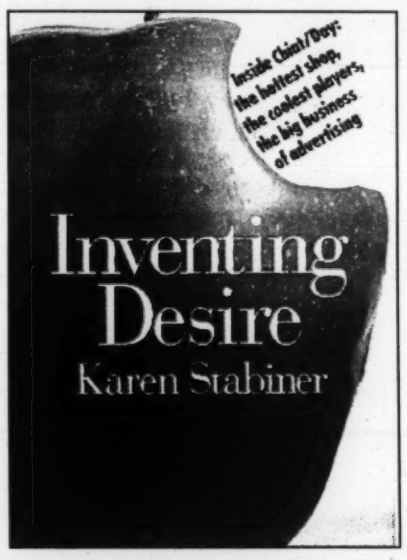
The year was one of wrenching change for Chiat/Day.

Jay Chiat – the mercurial captain of an extremely temperamental ship was attempting to smoothly pass the reins to younger executives. That challenge – to move to the next generation "without diluting the work for which the agency had become famous" – is one that is faced by companies across many industries.

Well-known Chiat/Day projects include the Energizer Bunny series, the NYNEX Yellow Pages campaign which hinged on puns on directory listings, and the 10-year-anniversary campaign for NutraSweet.

The volatility and complexity of the advertising business lends itself well to the kind of sustained observation Stabiner undertook. Though the book starts with an adulatory tone, Stabiner soon gets in close enough to show us the dirt under the organization's fingernails.

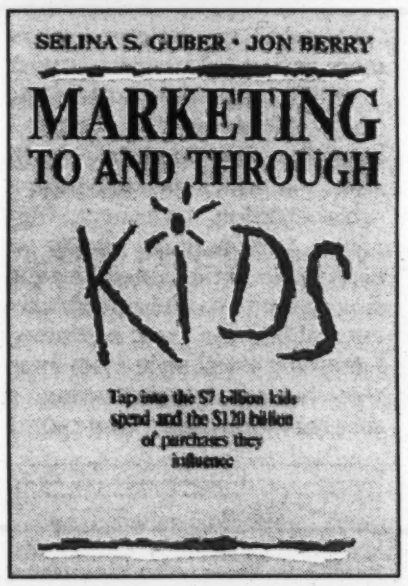
As Chiat/Day creates new advertising campaigns and presents them to clients on do-or-die deadlines, the atmosphere crackles. Stabiner conveys the excitement well.

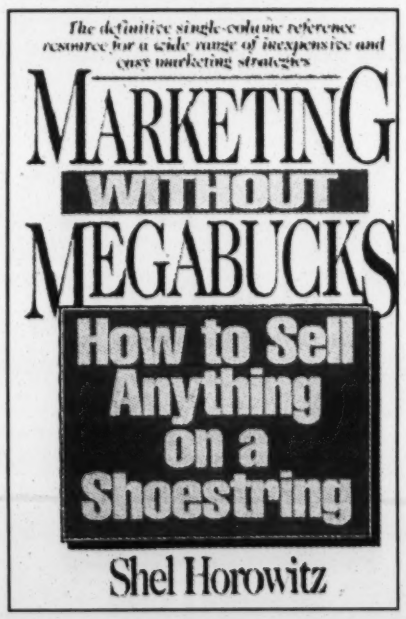

Inside Chiat/Day: the hottest shop, the coolest players, the big business of advertising
Inventing Desire
Karen Stabiner

MARKETING TO AND THROUGH KIDS, *by Selina S. Guber and Jon Berry (McGraw-Hill, 234 pp., $24.95)* sets out to show how marketers can effectively reach children. But the authors' premise is not that children are fodder for advertising's big guns. Guber and Berry contend that marketers should go directly to children for help in creating new products.

Marketing is "the process of finding a need that is not being met and creating a product that fills it," they write.

To get a direct line on the booming children's market, research firms go to places where kids congregate, such as shopping malls, to conduct interviews.


SELINA S. GUBER • JON BERRY
MARKETING TO AND THROUGH KIDS
Tap into the $7 billion kids spend and the $120 billion of purchases they influence


The definitive single-volume reference resource for a wide range of inexpensive and case marketing strategies
MARKETING WITHOUT MEGABUCKS
How to Sell Anything on a Shoestring
Shel Horowitz

Researchers also are convening focus groups of young people to try to find out exactly what children want and need.

While adults have grown accustomed to being targeted by advertising, many people like to think of childhood as an age of innocence – unblemished by crass commercial considerations.

Guber and Berry open the blinds. With engaging anecdotes and research, the authors demonstrate how the advertising world has launched a full-court press for the hearts and minds of American kids.

The authors admit that for some people, marketing aimed at children "has become synonymous with exploitation."

Yet that is an "overly simplistic notion," they write, because "it ignores the changes that have taken place in our society."

As the traditional family structure has been torn apart, parents are involving children in decisions that were never before considered their purview.

The authors report that 70 percent of mothers work outside the home compared with a level of 30 percent as recently as 1980. As young children are called on to perform more of the household chores, they have more opportunities to influence buying decisions.

Children aged 6 to 14 spend more than $7 billion each year and influence between $120 billion and $150 billion of their parents' expenditures.

Of course, this buying potential is not being ignored. The authors point to one indicator of the growing advertising dollars targeted at children: The number of children's magazines has jumped from 85 in the mid-1980s to 160 today.

MARKETING WITHOUT MEGABUCKS: HOW TO SELL ANYTHING ON A SHOESTRING, *by Shel Horowitz (Simon & Schuster, 384 pp., $12)* is a scrappy and practical guide for a business owner or manager with limited means.

Horowitz is a true salesman for his ideas and provides detailed examples of what can be accomplished. Even the typically introverted manager who has only a small inclination in this direction should be able to try a few of his ideas.

The goal is for a company to cut through the "information deluge," or the din of other advertising impressions that threaten to engulf the one main message the firm is trying to push.

While Horowitz exhorts businesses to go after all the free publicity they can get from the news media, he also rails against the common pitfall of driving customers away once they are lured in.

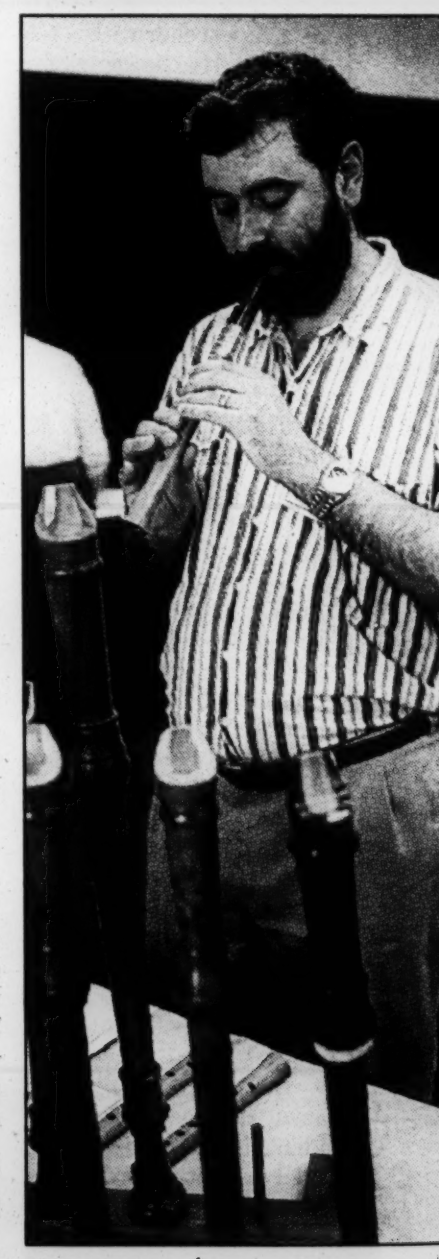
The book's suggestions are not glitzy. They are ideal for would-be marketing mavens who just happen to be a little short on cash.

– David C. Walters

MUSIC

The program's main strengths were a fine production of 'L'Orfeo' and a varied and fascinating exhibition of early instruments and documents

Boston Early Music Festival Brightens Musical Landscape



By Karen Campbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

As the Boston Early Music Festival wrapped up its six-day round of performances, exhibitions, and master classes last week, the opera "L'Orfeo" was a clear highlight.

For an opera written in 1607, Claudio Monteverdi's work – at least in the hands of musical director Andrew Parrott and stage director Simon Target – was surprisingly accessible and quite entertaining. Far from being dull or impossibly erudite, this historically accurate version of "L'Orfeo" came to life through the efforts of a fine cast of singers, instrumentalists, and dancers.

This year's festival also honored the 450th anniversary of composer William Byrd's birth. More than 60 events jam-packed numerous small venues on the Harvard University campus here, and there was a slightly chaotic and zoo-like atmosphere at many of the events because of high attendance and poor crowd control.

The festival continued its policy of including all kinds of early music, from a fascinating concert of early Greek and Turkish music (by the Eurasia Ensemble and Karavani) to the Boston Camerata's presentation of "Trav'ling Home," which included a rare selection of Shaker songs.

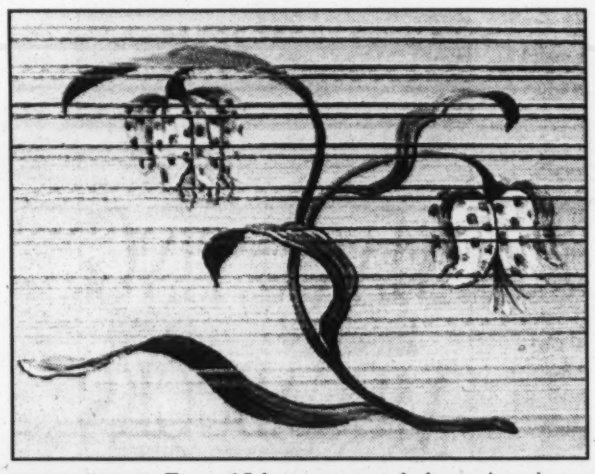
Always a festival highlight, the exhibition of more than 120 craftsmen, publishers, record companies, and dealers of rare books, manuscripts, prints, and antique instruments was squeezed into fairly tight quarters in Alumni and Sever Halls. Though attendance was excellent, patrons reportedly were not buying as much as in years past.

For even the most casual of observers, however, the exhibition was a visual and musical delight, with ornately decorated early keyboards, viols, percussion, wind, and brass instruments on display for viewing and playing.

The 350th anniversary of Monteverdi's death was a focal point of this year's festival, which included concerts, lectures, and master classes revolving around the composer's works. Monteverdi (1567-1643) stands as a seminal figure in the history of Western music. His work functions somewhat as a bridge between the 16th and 17th centuries, between the Renaissance and Baroque eras.

SAXON BAROQUE OBOE: *Instrument handmade of boxwood.*

Whereas most composers of the day were firmly entrenched in the "old style," the stricter, more restrained practice in which music dominated a given text, Monteverdi's work exemplified the "modern" or "free style," in which melodic line and ornamentation, harmonic dissonance, and rhythmic variety were used to aid in the complete expression of the text. Monteverdi's work exemplifies the new aesthetic: It features musical style as an expressive means for portraying and shaping dramatic context. His compositions are enlivened with bright rhythms, shifting meters, melodic and harmonic nuance, and a remarkable fluidity.



FLORAL DETAIL: *From 18th-century-style harpsicord.*

Monteverdi is considered by many to be the creator of opera, and "L'Orfeo" was the composer's first work in the genre. The libretto by Alessandro Striggio sticks closely to the traditional myth of Orpheus, who represents the mystical power of music, the link between the human and the divine.

Monteverdi set the opera in a prologue and five acts. The first part of the opera, which focuses on the wedding preparations of Orfeo and Euridice, is lively and up-tempo, full of ceremony and pageantry. The succession of theatrical tableaux is complemented by a variety of musical forms – recitatives, arias, duets, quartets, choruses, dances, and instrumental pieces.

With the arrival of the Messenger, who delivers the news of Euridice's death, however, the tone gets more somber and slower. The bulk of the rest of the story is told in longer, more sustained recitatives and arias as Orfeo travels to Hades then ultimately Paradise to rejoin his beloved Euridice. For contemporary tastes, it could feel a bit slow, but the instrumental coloration by the Boston Early Music Festival's relatively large orchestra (including recorders, cornettos, trumpet, sackbuts, and kettledrums in addition to strings, harp, and keyboards) was remarkably varied.

Spatial aspects added another dimension to this production, as groups of players moved in and out of the performance area for a variety of effects. The excellent orchestra comprised of members of The King's Noyse, Concerto Palatino, and others included Parrott and Elisabeth Wright on harpsichord and organ, harpist Andrew Lawrence-King, and Paul Odette and Catherine Lidell on the huge, guitar-like chitarrones.

Despite the difficulty in controlling the stuffy climate in Sanders Theatre, the group's intonation was solid, and ensemble was tight, flexible, and expressive. The singers were also impressively solid.

Joseph Cornwell was an able lyrical Orfeo. His was easily the most impassioned singing of the opera, and his strong rich tenor had an almost romantic throb in spots, yet he handled the tricky ornamentation gracefully.

Maria Jette sang with a pure sweet soprano as Euridice, but her characterization was impossibly waxen, surely no inspiration for the ardent Orfeo.

Emily Van Evera had a marvelous dynamic and expressive range in her role as La Musica and Proserpina. In contrast, Paul Guttry was flat and colorless as Plutone. As the tragic Messaggiera, Danielle Forget teetered on the edge of despair. Unfortunately, in her distress, she wandered off pitch at times.

In Target's small-scale and intimate production, the staging was more stylized than realistic, and for the most part, it worked beautifully. But, it also resulted in some awkward transitions and a lack of emotional power in key spots.

Dancing (by Deena Grassia and Noah Racey) was wonderfully woven throughout the opening celebration and the brief finale, giving those sections a festive air. Charles Garth's choreography included some entertaining acrobatics as well.

The scenery by James Middleton, was based on designs from a play of 1608 and consisted of six four-sided columns that flanked the stage and rotated to provide two rather unimpressive settings: the fields of Thrace and the gates of Hades. Middleton's costumes included knickers and laurel wreaths for the men and mid-calf dresses in spectacular fabrics for the women. Only the wildy bewigged "punk" spirits of the underworld seemed strangely out of place.

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

STRINGS ATTACHED: *Margaret Hood (sitting, right) shows a Viennese fortepiano to early-music aficionados at the Boston Early Music Festival exhibition. Hood's company makes pianos modeled after those of Nannette Streicher, whose pianos were favored by Beethoven.*

SOUNDS OF THE PAST: *Michael Lynn (left) of Oberlin College samples a recorder among the many wind instruments displayed at the festival. A Flemish virginal or muselar (above) is tried out by Tom Bernard, while Gary Wilson observes. The virginal is one of the early-instrument copies made by D. Jacques Way & Marc Ducornet.*

Hollywood Examined On Minority Roles

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

THE television and motion-picture industry is under mounting pressure to hire more minorities and change the way blacks, Latinos, and other groups are portrayed on the big and small screens.

Activists and some academics say the entertainment industry has made little progress in putting minorities behind and in front of the camera, and that those who get a part usually play stereotyped roles. The result gives children – many of whom spend more time watching TV than they do communicating with parents – a one-dimensional view of minority achievements and aspirations. Some say the lack of diversity in roles – blacks too often play criminals or welfare mothers; Latinos are gardeners or gang members – contributes to ethnic and racial tensions.

"Television is an important vehicle for children to learn about themselves and other people," says Gordon Berry, a professor of psychology and communication at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). "If children don't see people like themselves on television, they feel their group isn't very important."

Marla Gibbs, a black actress, says: "Every time we see ourselves, we're victims. We're not seen as mothers and fathers – as being able to make viable contributions to society."

These and other comments critical of Hollywood surfaced at a hearing of the United States Commission on Civil Rights held here last week to examine the state of racial and ethnic tensions in the US.

MEDIA

Accentuating the concern about minority hiring and portrayal were two studies released last week by entertainment-industry unions. They showed that:

■ White males under 40 work more and earn more than any other group cast on television. Women, ethnic and racial minorities, older people, and the disabled are vastly underrepresented in comparison to their numbers in society.

The study of 10 years of programming released by the Screen Actors Guild and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists found that 1 out of every 3 characters in prime-time television was a woman. On Saturday mornings, it is 1 out of 5 characters; blacks represent 3 percent of the characters, and Latinos less than 1 percent.

■ The Writers Guild of America, West, found that minority writers for TV and film have made substantial gains at a few companies, but overall improvements have been modest. In 1991, 3.9 percent of TV writers were minorities, up from 2.9 percent in 1987. In film, they increased from 2 percent to 2.6 percent.

Chon Noriega, an assistant professor of critical studies at UCLA, says Latinos are the "most underrepresented of all the underrepresented groups." He cites statistics showing that only .8 percent of the characters portrayed on television last year were Hispanic. (Hispanics make up 9 percent of the US population.)

Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Productions, says the lack of Latino representation is "abominable." But he and others say the industry has made progress in hiring more blacks and women, giving them a wider diversity of roles, and reducing some of the negative stereotyping.

"The nature of the portrayals has changed a great deal," says Mr. Stoddard. "It may not be as positive as everyone would like, but it isn't as negative."

Jeffrey Sagansky, president of CBS Entertainment, says 70 percent of the shows his network ordered this year have a minority lead or co-lead. He calls the industry's overall record on the issue a "mixed bag."

Insiders and analysts cite varying reasons for the dearth of minorities and women in Hollywood: the commercial pressures behind film and TV; the unwillingness of studios and networks to take risks; and the difficulty of moving up in an industry where friendships and personal contacts are so important – and in which white males now dominate.

Suggested solutions range from more training and mentoring programs for nonwhites, to more active enforcement of the federal standards on minority hiring, to viewer boycotts.

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ THURSDAY

The Real World *(MTV, 10-10:30 p.m.)*: A postmodern mix of TV formats if there ever was one – soap and "reality" show – is the idea behind the series starting its second season. A Los Angeles group of seven – aged 18-to-25 – move into a loft as a camera records their lives – their actions, feelings, and relationships. The seven are actors but the production is given a documentary feel, with cast members speaking directly to the camera to discuss their feelings.

■ FRIDAY

Investigative Reports *(A&E, 9-10 p.m.)*: A look inside a prison is nothing new on documentaries, but "L.A. Behind Bars" examines one of the largest systems in the world: Los Angeles County Central, a huge, grim, dehumanizing place that puts merciless stress both on the inmates (6,000 of them) and on the guards (only 165). Host Bill Kurtis takes viewers on a detailed tour that covers everything from the preparation and serving of 18,000 meals a day to the segregation of certain inmates – like members of the Bloods and Crips street gangs, who officials say account for most of the violence inside the walls.

■ SATURDAY

Front Page *(Fox, 9-10 p.m.)*: Does this sound familiar? A weekly magazine show with five correspondents who cover topical news features – three major pieces each week – and focus on what are billed as provocative and relevant issues. That checklist could fit several network news magazines, but this one is Fox's entry in the familiar genre. Couple of twists, though: One of the correspondents is Ron Reagan, and the show's tone promises to be a little more contemporary in its feel. Shorter stories will also be included, along with commentary and reflections. The opening show includes segments on a Hollywood financial "scandal" and one on the sometimes troubling popularity of plastic surgery for teenagers.

Please check local listings for all programs.

ODYSSEY

We're Off on the Road to Katoomba

Low-budget leisure 'bushwalking' gains favor in Australia

CATHERINE FOSTER

BUSHED: *Our reporter's companions pause along the Six-Foot Track, so named because it is wide enough for a car.*

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

KATOOMBA, AUSTRALIA

THERE'S nothing more impatient than a bunch of tired bushwalkers waiting for the "billy" to boil.

The billy in this case was not the traditional tin can with a wire-loop handle, but a black, cast-iron kettle. It was too small to serve 14 people at once, so half of us had to be patient.

This motley gang of bushwalkers gathered around the fire, mugs in hand, quite a few times on our three-day, 27-mile walk in the Blue Mountains. We were exploring the Six-Foot Track, probably Australia's oldest recreational walking and bridle path.

Bushwalking has been around since the 1890s, says Garry MacDougall, who owns Great Australian Walks, the company running our trip. "It's part of the 'English pedestrianism' recreation movement associated with Romantic poets," he says. These days, it's undergoing a resurgence in popularity. Five years ago, Mr. McDougall had 15 walks; today it's 70 to 75.

Mr. MacDougall says that bushwalking always becomes more popular in hard economic times – like now: "Bushwalking's cheap. When people are strapped for resources they say, 'Let's use what we have.' " Our three-day, two-night trek cost US$200, including meals and camping gear.

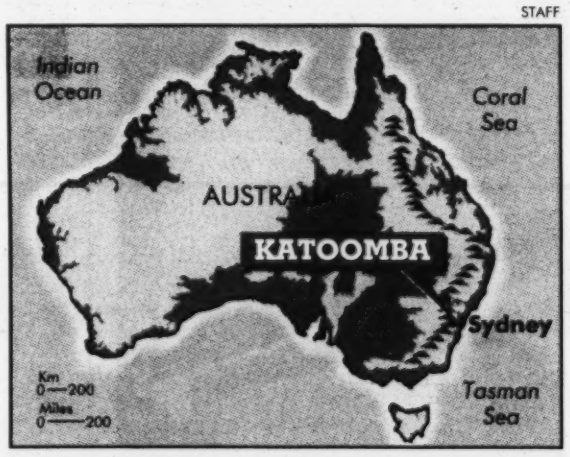
Great Australian Walks has been leading backpacking and four-wheel-drive-supported walks since 1988. This kind of trek, where our gear, tents, food, and equipment are carried for us, would seem pretty wimpy to other bushwalkers, whose muscular approach has given them the appellation "bushbashers." But this way of bushwalking is increasingly popular, particularly among seniors. Among our group of 14 were retired men, fathers taking their first weekend break from young families, parents with children old enough to fend for themselves, and some singles.

Sam, a retired businessman, says he's been hiking a long time. In college, he signed on one summer to help geologists in Tasmania."We walked around in the bush for three or four months and explored," he says. "They used to drop our food in by aircraft. And in those days a lot of the creeks and rivers weren't even named. So we named [them] after our girlfriends.

"The first six weeks nearly killed me, but after that I got very comfortable in the scrub," Sam says. "And I've loved it ever since. I just get out whenever I get a chance."

The Six-Foot Track starts in Katoomba, about 90 minutes west of Sydney, and ends at the Jenolan Caves. Business leaders in Katoomba started building it in 1884 to regain some of the business lost to the popularity of the Jenolan Caves. The unfinished road has been a walking trail ever since.

STAFF



Our guide is Ron, a hearty ex-fireman from London with a thick Cockney accent. He starts us off with a look at the Explorer's Tree, a section of a tree supposedly marked by the early European explorers.

Our journey takes us first through Nellie's Glen, with its splashing waterfall. We travel through forests of eucalyptus trees. Calls of the aptly-named bell bird and whip bird pierce the air. Sometimes we hear the lyre bird, which doesn't have a call of its own but mimics the sounds around it, from magpies to chain saws to automobiles.

The Six-Foot Track also takes us through a bit of Australian history. We pass the foundations of the abandoned mining village of Megalong. It once had workers' cottages, a hotel, and shops. Ruins of settlers' huts are near the track. Periodically, we see the tops of old kerosene cans nailed to trees, early track markers.

Late in the afternoon we round a bend and there, on the banks of Cox's River, rows of turquoise tents await us. Howard, the support man with a maniacal giggle, has driven in and put them all up. After choosing tents and having our cuppa, we go yabby fishing. Yabbies are small, freshwater crayfish. We throw in a line with some meat on it and wait for the yabbies to grab the bait. Then we haul in the line slowly and scoop up the yabby with a screen. After the oohs and ahhs, yabby is thrown back.

Another guide, Mick, took out a guitar and led us in campfire singing – everything from '50s American show tunes to the Beatles to Australian childrens' songs. The next morning, after loading up on rib-sticking porridge, our trek takes us over some steep elevations.

By the end of the day, what started as a collection of strangers has coalesced into a group. You can tell because the teasing about snoring has started. Ron quizzes us occasionally ("How did the Six-Foot Track get its name?") and throws out Cherry Ripes – a chocolate candy bar with cherry filling – to those with the correct answer (the military named it that because it's wide enough for a car).

Several trekkers help peel carrots and slice onions for the chicken stew. Around the fire, we tell riddles and bad jokes. Then it's off to shine our flashlights in the trees for possums. Many of Australia's animals are nocturnal and "spotlighting" is popular. The tallest trees are where possums like to sleep and the beams criss-cross each other in the night as we look. Finally, we spot one, a black-and-white catlike thing slung around a high limb. Its red eyes blink in the light.

The final day, we break camp in a light rain and head down some steep downhill stretches. Near the bottom, we have a photo stop in front of the Carlotta Arch, a dramatic rock arch with stalactites hanging down.

Our terminus is the Jenolan Caves, five limestone caves discovered in the 1830s. In the courtyard of an old German inn, this by-now "knackered" group sits around a large outdoor table and celebrates its triumphant descent. Here, the elusive Australian fauna become bold: Brightly colored Rosella parrots have no qualms about perching on our shoulders to snatch a bit of food.

FOOD

New Yorkers' 'Home' Away From Home

By David C. Walters
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

IN the depths of Manhattan, David Page is cooking up heartland American cuisine. And it seems to suit New Yorkers just fine.

Mr. Page grew up in a small Wisconsin town, and his menu shows it. "Home," the restaurant he runs with partner Barbara Shinn, is taking a new look at American cuisine.

In creating the restaurant, Page dug deep into his Midwestern roots. Back in Wisconsin, his grandparents raised their own chickens and cattle. They had vegetable gardens that were "organic but without the name and pretense," Page says.

With an unassuming attitude, the owners of Home have created some surprisingly fresh interpretations of Middle American dishes such as pork chops and short ribs.

"Home is *not* home cooking," Page hastens to say. "We picked the name 'Home' because of the James Beard quote: 'American food is anything you eat at home.' It's more about comfort and the feeling of being in a place where you can relax," Page says.

At Home, Page and Ms. Shinn are attempting a return to the fundamentals of the hospitality business. Restaurants in this country were invented as stopping off places – country inns where travelers could take rest and food, Page says.

"I think restaurants generally have evolved into something completely different," he adds. "At a lot of restaurants in New York, it's likely that you are going there for everything *but* the food."

Home's menu is memorable but not complicated.

On a recent visit, a friend and I started our meal with an order of blue-cheese fondue served with chunks of toasted walnut bread. We also had an interesting Home salad with confit of duck.

The main course was a mustard seed-coated pork chop with roasted tomato sauce. Served with a sauté of cabbage, corn, and leeks and a griddlecake, it was exceptional.

The narrow dining room's warm hues and cozy atmosphere are soothing. The seating is comfortable for couples, but the small booths proved to be a little too cozy for groups of four.

Shinn and Page see their new restaurant as part of a broader revolt against large establishments that seem as if they are run by a corporation rather than by a chef-owner. "Not having to sit anonymously in a 250-seat restaurant is a nice experience," Page says. "Many restaurants have evolved into a Hollywood kind of environment."

A number of big restaurant "failures in the '80s came from someone on Wall Street who had made a zillion dollars deciding to open a restaurant for his ego's sake," he says.

While Page and Shinn seem pleased with the reception Home has received from the critics thus far, they seem more concerned with what the locals think. Home aims to be a lower Manhattan institution – a walk-by, no-reservations type of restaurant for neighborhood folks.

Page's shopping trips do not stray far from the restaurant. In the morning he heads to the local cheese store and meat market.

"Here in New York, you still can go to the local grocer, cheese shop, produce guy, and baker," Page says. "I can go to five different markets, bring everything back, and create a meal. In the meantime ... I'm meeting the customers."

Page apprenticed and cooked for several restaurants in California before moving to Montpelier, Vt., in the mid-'80s to teach at the New England Culinary Institute. While working in Vermont, Page fell in love with the "incredible" ingredients available from Vermont farms, including cheeses, free-range veal, and a broad selection of organic produce.

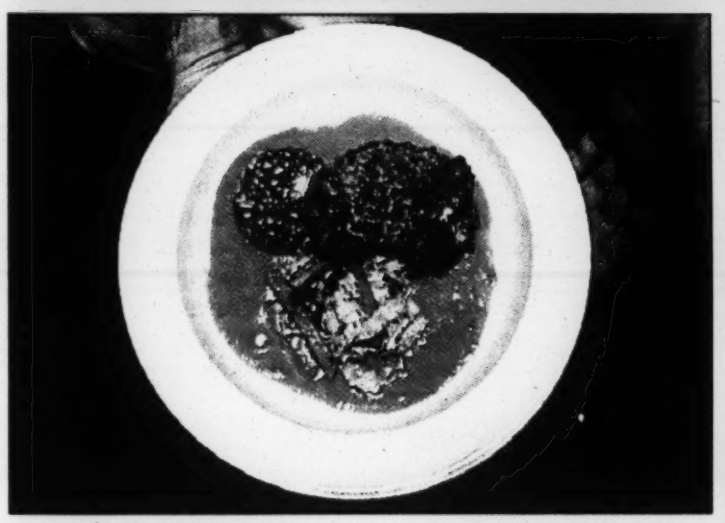
Page and Shinn's shared passion for fresh ingredients comes through in the food they serve. "I walk into the meat market and hand select the short ribs," Page says. "It's nothing new, it's the way marketing used to be done."

The two owners have found that changing the menu to match the shifting seasons is a pleasant challenge that they did not face in California.

In New York, "we noticed that we wanted to eat different foods than we did on the West Coast," Shinn says. "It took a couple of years to get the overall view, to see how climate affects your appetite."

Home is located in Manhattan's West Village. The scale of the buildings is more human – four- and five-story buildings with small businesses on the street level – compared with the echoing granite canyons of midtown. Page and Shinn chose the neighborhood because it "is one of the most comfortable parts of the city," Page says. Just about right for a place called Home.

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



CELEBRATING COMFORT FOOD: *(clockwise from top) Chef-owner David Page in the kitchen of his westside Manhattan restaurant; outside with partner Barbara Shinn; one of his specialties, mustard-seed coated roasted pork chop and tomato sauce, which Page serves with cabbage sauté and a griddlecake.*

Pork Chops With Roasted Tomato Sauce

PORK CHOPS:
6 pork chops (about 1-inch thick)
Olive oil
6 tablespoons crushed mustard seed
Salt and pepper

Brush pork chops lightly with olive oil, coat them in mustard seed, and sprinkle with salt and pepper. Roast in 350-degree F. oven for 20-25 minutes.

ROASTED TOMATO SAUCE:
4 large tomatoes, sliced
6 whole garlic cloves, peeled
1 tablespoon oregano, chopped
2 tablespoons olive oil

Combine all ingredients and roast in an ovenproof baking dish in 425-degree F. oven for 18-20 minutes. Purée and keep warm.

To assemble, ladle sauce on plate. Place pork chop on sauce and serve. Serves six.

– Adapted from recipe by Home restaurant chef David Page

BOOKS

A Farming Woman Who Writes It All Down

Despite literary acclaim, novelist Dori Sanders still works her South Carolina farm as she thinks up new stories to tell

By Laurel Shaper Walters
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

DORI SANDERS is a farmer and an author. Yet even after the publication of her second novel, she thinks of herself as a farmer first.

"Not long ago, I walked into a room," Ms. Sanders says, beginning to tell one of an endless stream of stories. "A woman there said, 'I've never been in the same room with a real author before.' I looked around and said, 'A real author where, where, where?' And they were talking about *me*. It was really embarrassing."

Sanders still lives on the farm near York, S.C., where she grew up swapping stories with her nine siblings. "We didn't have radio or television," she says. "That was a way of entertaining ourselves."

Her father, a teacher and farmer, was one of the first black farm owners in York County. He bought the land in 1915.

"I've lived on the farm my whole life," Sanders says. Although most of her brothers and sisters left for college and careers, Sanders stayed behind to help one of her brothers work the land.

"I don't understand why we keep doing it," she says. "The work is hard. But I rightly can't quit, that's the truth. It isn't because we haven't tried."

Yet, Sanders says, "I don't think I could write without it. It's the wellspring for my writing."

Both of Sanders's novels draw from her life on the South Carolina peach farm. "Clover," which was published in 1990 to much acclaim, tells the story of a 10-year-old black girl and her white stepmother.

Walt Disney Pictures bought the option to turn "Clover" into a movie. The book has been translated into five languages and is in its eighth hardcover printing.

Sanders's new novel, "Her Own Place," traces the life of Mae Lee Barnes, a South Carolina farmer's daughter. This expansive novel covers five decades of change in the rural South.

Sanders never really aspired to being a writer. "I just love the storytelling process," she says.

With a sweet voice rich in character and emotion, Sanders never stops telling stories. "Never will forget...," she'll say and branch off into yet another spellbinding tale.

While working at a motel in Maryland during the winter, Sanders would scribble lines on old menus or cocktail napkins to pass the time. One of her employers encouraged her to pursue the writing more seriously.

And maybe her father planted the writing seed early in her life, Sanders says. When she would get in trouble and start to explain, her father would stop her and say, "Write it down, little honey, and put it on my desk."

"So I had to write myself out of things," Sanders says.

Despite her success, Sanders's work has been criticized for "sugar-coating life in the South." Both novels take an optimistic view of racial issues.

Sanders's defense against this criticism comes by way of a story, of course. "I cannot be a spokesman for hatred because I don't have it," she says. "At my age, I remember when our little town had two churches, and two schools, and two water fountains at the county courthouse. Everything was totally segregated."

But what Sanders remembers best is the white man who ran the general store in town. Little Dori often went in to buy something for her mother.

" 'Anything left over?' I'd say [after paying the storekeeper]. And he'd look down at me from over those long wooden counters and those eyes would seem to pierce through my head. But I'd just look at him and ask again: 'Anything left over?' Then he'd say, 'I don't know. Everybody tells me I can't figure a thing. Let me figure again.' And he'd start marking on the back of a brown paper bag. And then he'd act so surprised. 'Oh, I did figure wrong. There are a few cents left over.' So I'd go over to the candy counter and I'd get a johnnycake and I'd be so happy. Now, I want to ask you: How could I hate that man? Tell me."

Dori Sanders knows what she has lived and how she feels. She's not about to let someone else tell her how she should write about it. "I don't feel pressed upon or compelled to express anger," she says. "I didn't experience that."

It's no longer necessary for Sanders to spend winters working in Maryland to keep the farm afloat. She hasn't done that since 1988.

In spite of her writing success, life on the farm hasn't changed much in the last five years. "I drive my own tractor still," Sanders says. And when she has to go to town, it's a 1974 yellow pickup truck that takes her there.

When she's not out promoting her books, Sanders still mans the family's open-air farmstand beside the highway.

Her current project is the "Farmstand Cookbook," a collection of family recipes and the stories behind them. "It will be an informal, chatty cookbook," she says. Southern cooking and hospitality come naturally to Dori Sanders.

"If you're ever down that way," she says, "you *must* come to the Sanders Peach Shed just outside Charlotte on Highway 321."

LAYNE BAILEY

WORKING THE LAND: *Dori Sanders, aboard a tractor on her family farm near York, S.C., hasn't let literary success alter her rural life. Her second novel has just been published.*

Mae Lee Holds the Family Together

DORI SANDERS'S second novel, "Her Own Place," tells the life story of the rather ordinary Mae Lee Barnes with extraordinary skill and flair.

"The house was new, but an old person lived in it," begins the novel as the elderly Mae Lee settles down to reflect on her past.

The only daughter of South Carolina tenant farmers, Mae Lee was a teenager when World War II started. She married Jeff Barnes the day before the bus arrived to carry him off to war.

While he was gone Mae Lee worked in the local munitions plant and scraped together enough money to buy a small plot of land. Though her husband returned safely from the war, he ended up abandoning Mae Lee and their five children.

The pages of this compact novel can't be turned fast enough as the years pass and Mae Lee holds things together through her inner strength and courage.

The book is filled with strong, tenacious women. In many respects, it's a tribute to the women who kept the rural South going while men were off fighting in the war. But "Her Own Place" extends beyond the postwar era, bringing Mae Lee into the present.

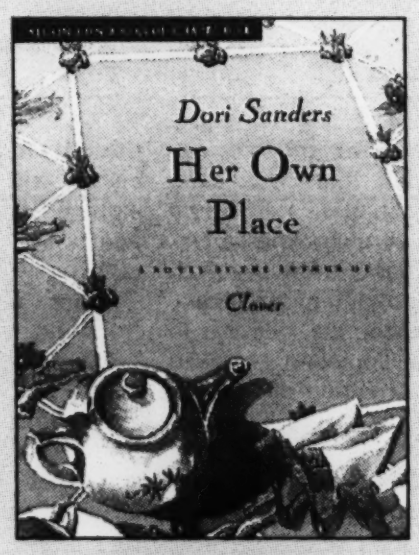
Sanders moves her vivid characters through the decades effortlessly, sprinkling humor through the pages.

Mae Lee ends up moving off the farm and into town, where her most entertaining and inspiring adventures take place.

At first, she and her friends pass the time sitting on the front porch sipping iced tea. "Through idle conversation spiced with gossip they reviewed the events of the day and the years that brushed their lives," Sanders writes, "exposing and hiding faults as if they were removing layers of paint from old furniture or doing a touch-up job on the town."

But with the encouragement of her son, who was wounded and nursed back to health in Vietnam, Mae Lee becomes the first black hospital volunteer in Rising Ridge, S.C.

Mae Lee and the white upper-class wives who have always volunteered at the hospital teach one another a thing or two. As Mae Lee tells her chatty friend Ellabelle: "These people had become her *friends*, some of them. Certainly they occasionally said things that they didn't realize could be awkward and embarrassing to her. But it wasn't because they meant them that way. They didn't always understand. And as far as she was concerned, the job was to make them understand, help them to understand."



HER OWN PLACE
By Dori Sanders
Algonquin Books
243 pp., $16.95

Just when it appears that this book couldn't possibly hold any more charming characters, Fletcher Owens arrives on the scene. Mr. Owens starts boarding with Mae Lee. And he, too, has a lesson to offer.

Like a ripe summer peach, "Her Own Place" just keeps getting better and better until the last page leaves the reader longing for more.

– L. S. W.

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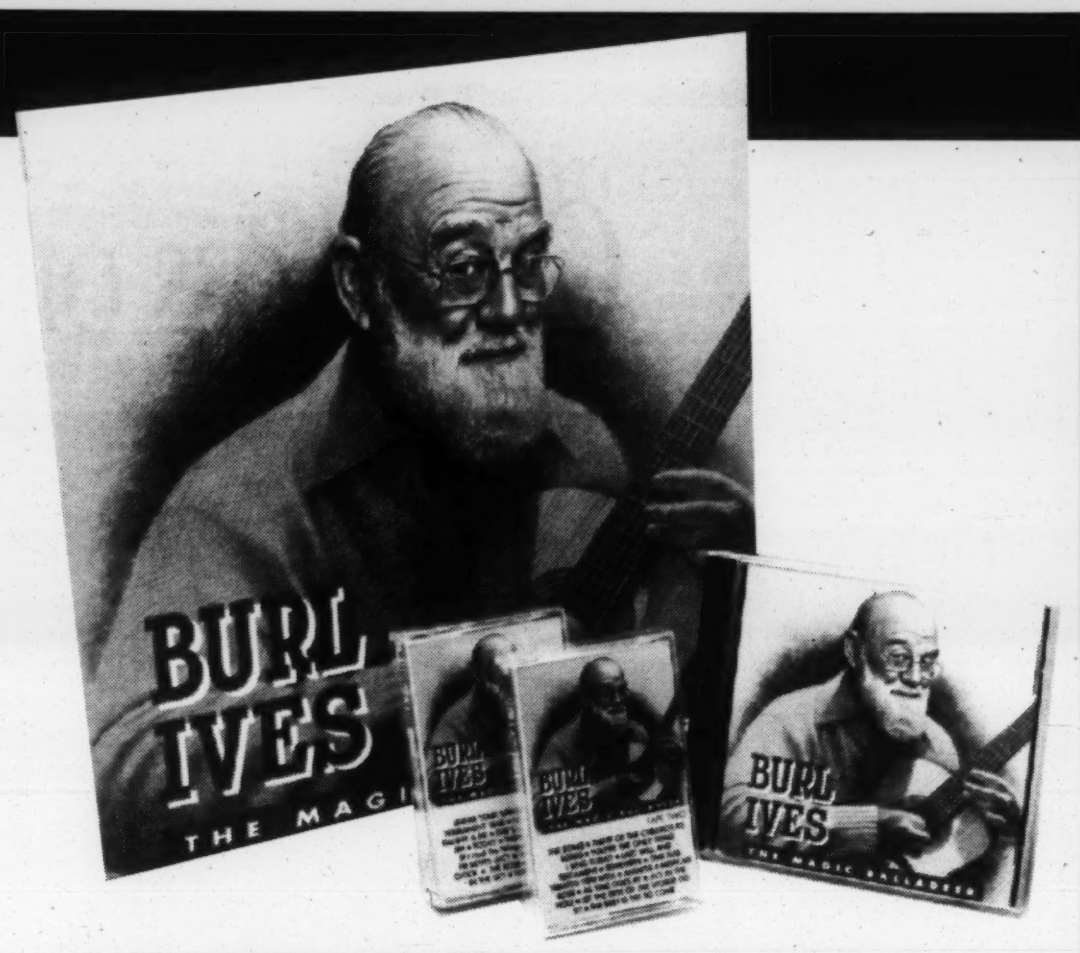

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- *(Ghost) Riders In The Sky*
- *The Prisoner Song (If I Had The Wings Of An Angel)*
- *Pied Piper*
- *Permanent Tear*
- *Scooter, Michael, Danny & Me*
- *She's My Wife*
- *Under Your Wing*
- *Buckeye Jim*
- *He Loves Lucy*
- *The Song*
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The Home Forum.

Photograph by staff photographer R. Norman Matheny

Crisscross on a Hot Sky

AN inescapably urban image.

True, there are the vague wisps of leafless winter trees if you look for them, but this marginal intrusion – or retreat – offers little competition to the main theme. The man-made dominates.

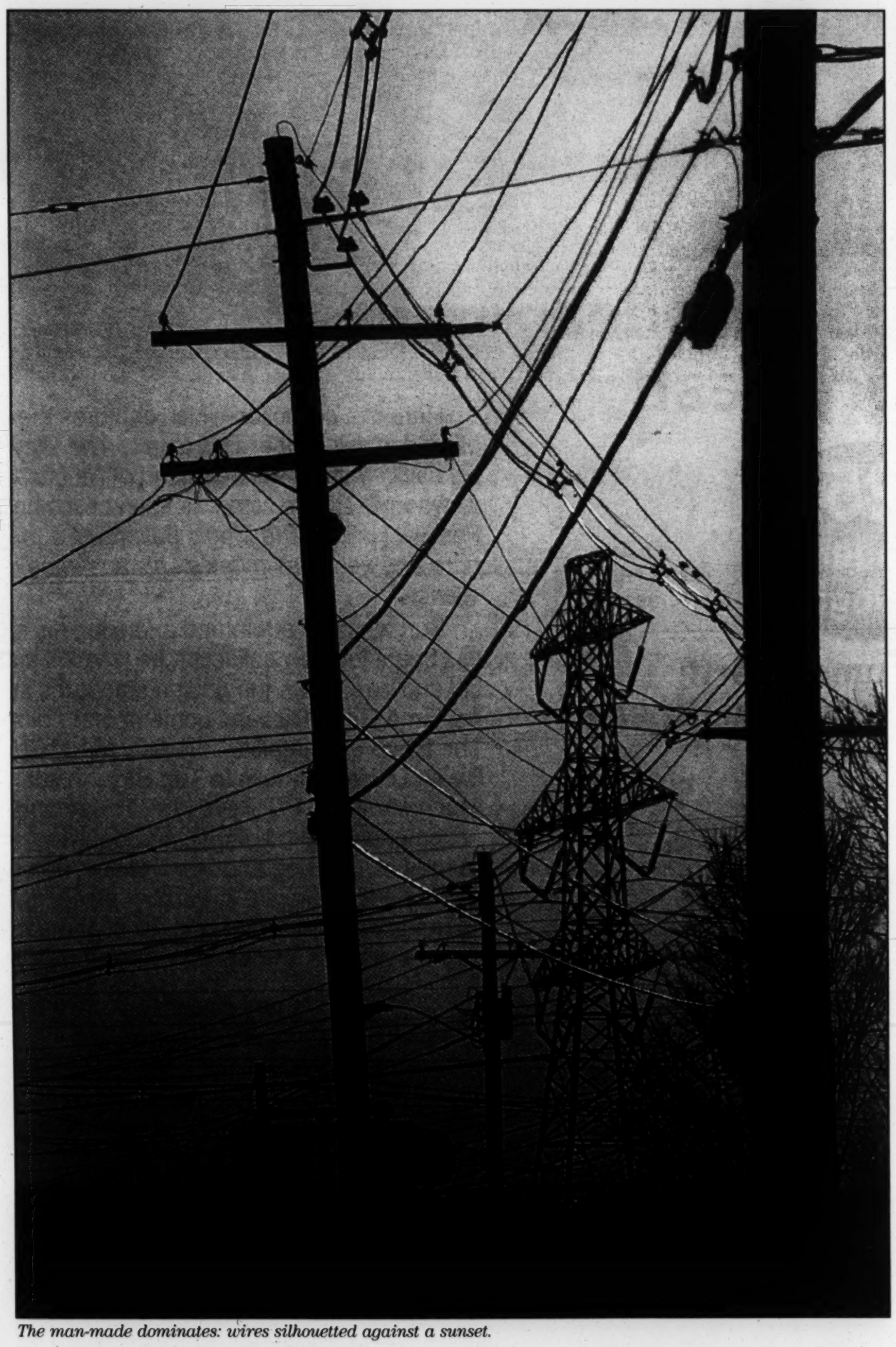
An inescapably technological image.

Messages in transit. Singing, humming high wires. Trapeze, but no acrobats. Perches for migration, but no swallows. Cabled power. The chaotic crisscross of lines against the hot sky is relayed by an ad-

LENS AND LIGHT

hoc provision of poles and crossbars. This web of wires and cables is given more formal patterning by the engineered construction of the Eiffel-Tower pylon.

But even this support for high-voltage currents seems to belong to an era when communication and power supplies had to be visible to be credible – and so this whole industrialized image of modernity is today almost folksy as a relic from past times. Today's conservationists of ancient buildings and unspoiled rural appearances prefer the wires to be subsoil. They want tourist photographers to be able to snap the leaning tower of Pisa without wires interrupting. But 20th-century wires are also beautiful, also part of the history of style.



The man-made dominates: wires silhouetted against a sunset.

How extraordinary that the desperately ugly features of early urbanization can so quickly become beautiful and even nostalgic. I've always loved pylons, striding across valleys and over hill rises, tacking in the wind on their charted course to the horizon. I loved them even when most people hated them. "They spoil the countryside!" No, no – they enhance it, leading the eye, as they recede, away and over and beyond.

I suspect photographer R. Norman Matheny knows their metal, too. And he also notices the linear glory of wires against the sky, the tense-loose curve of those black lines, undeliberate ink drawing.

This photograph has about it something of primitive photography, a thing of deep shadow or simplified silhouette against strong light. Intermediary tones are absent. Subtle texturings are reduced. A redness from the sky may suffuse the black shapes in places, and the black wire lines, by mere change of direction, may catch the sun's rays and transform into sudden streaks of silver, but the essence here is the straight contrast of strong light and intense dark.

In the first days of photography, replacing the artist's hand with mechanical device, Fox Talbot, Hill, and Adamson, the pioneers, used words like "photogenic drawing" and "sun pictures." The picture was *made* by sun and shadow. Capturing and fixing this transience was all.

When, in our time, the camera has become utterly commonplace – the easiest, most vastly overused image-producer – it happens, just now and then, that a good photograph appears that aspires toward the basic, original concept of the "sun picture." Like this one by Matheny.

Christopher Andreae

'Lens and Light' is a series showcasing the work of Monitor staff photographers.

In the Middle of 'Middlemarch'

I SPENT years avoiding "Middlemarch." It wasn't easy: The massive Victorian masterpiece by the revered novelist, moralist, protofeminist, and iconoclast Mary Ann Evans, who wrote under the pen name George Eliot, was on reading lists everywhere. No course in 19th-century fiction was complete without it. It was almost as impossible to graduate from college as an English major without having read "Middlemarch" as to get through high school without encountering Eliot's equally famed classic, "Silas Marner."

I hadn't read "Silas Marner" either. For some reason, this lengthy tale of a miser transformed by his love for a foundling child was deemed edifying material for pseudo-sophisticated teenagers like my then-self, who at that point in life would have preferred a story with at least a touch of romantic interest. I skimmed enough of "Silas Marner" to grasp the general idea. All the teacher wanted to know on the test was if you were able to see the "symbolic" connection between the miser's love of gold and the finer, nobler love for the golden-haired child that supplanted it.

The reason "Middlemarch" was on college reading lists had something to do with the fact that an eminent critic, F. R. Leavis, had pronounced it a central text of "The Great Tradition" in an influential 1948 book of that title. Fortunately, however, a mild reaction against Leavis's judgments had set in among the faculty, prompting them to substitute Dickens for Eliot as the chief exemplar of Victorian fiction in the survey course I happened to take. By the time I reached graduate school, it was assumed that any English major would have already read "Middlemarch," and so the graduate course on the 19th-century English novel focused on Eliot's "Adam Bede" instead.

I read "Adam Bede" – every word of it. To my well-concealed surprise, it was delightful. Here was a funny, touching, earnest, yet playful novel – witty, yet compassionate – with a great sympathy and understanding for the people whose lives it depicted: Adam Bede, the noble carpenter; Hetty Sorrel, the flighty milkmaid; Arthur Donnithorne, the thoughtless young squire; and Hetty's cousin, the wise preacher Dinah Morris. The author was a shrewd realist, but with a saving touch of romanticism; a moralist, but certainly not a bore. I realized I had misjudged George Eliot.

Still, for years I just never got around to "Middlemarch," which seemed rather a *long* book about life in a provincial English town.

Then one afternoon a few weeks ago, I took down a copy of "Middlemarch" from the shelf where it had been reposing for so long. My eye fell upon the opening paragraphs: What, they asked, would become of a young woman with the mind and temperament of a Saint Theresa, who happened to be born in 19th-century England into a social milieu that offered "no epic life wherein there was a constant unfolding of far-resonant action; [but only perhaps] ... a life of mistakes." One needn't know much about Saint Theresa to be struck by the preposterousness of a 16th-century Spanish saint living in an English town, or to appreciate the fine blend of humor and gravity in Eliot's attitude toward her heroine, Dorothea Brooke.

Intelligent, warm-hearted, and filled with zealous intentions of improving the world, Dorothea is a charming but outspoken young lady who takes her religion seriously. A devout Protestant, she can hardly join a convent. In 1829, when the novel begins, a university education or a career were options that scarcely existed for young ladies like her. Romantic as well as intellectual, Dorothea dreams of marriage but has no interest in the handsome, shallow sons of the local gentry.

I just never got around to 'Middlemarch,' which seemed a long book about provincial English life.

Her imagination is fired instead by Edward Casaubon, a grim-looking scholar and clergyman some 30 years her senior. She sees in his severe, judicious manner the markings of a latter-day John Locke or John Milton, and she believes he is a good and brilliant man who will guide her toward greater knowledge and whom she, in turn, will assist in his high-minded endeavors.

But Casaubon has neither a great mind nor a great heart. Scrupulous, correct, but cold and narrow, he is no fit mate for Dorothea. Their mismatch, too awkward to be called a tragedy, is too sad to be a comedy. Yet in Eliot's capable hands, it partakes of both. Dorothea's story is interwoven with the fates of several other townspeople in a richly worked fabric of politics, romance, gossip, scandal, and conflict. The tale combines something like the comic flair of a Jane Austen and the emotional intensity of a Charlotte Brontë but is tempered with a resolute fair-mindedness, a determination to examine all sides of any question, that is pure George Eliot.

It says something about the cultural and intellectual sophistication of our time that a novel as long, detailed, and complex as "Middlemarch" would likely not be published today, even though it contains much that would appeal to modern-day readers. For feminists, there's a spirited heroine stifled by lack of opportunity and betrayed by her own idealism. For connoisseurs of literary ambiguity, there's a spectrum of divergent viewpoints, deftly orchestrated by a narrator who constantly warns against the danger of taking appearances at face value: "For surely all must admit that a man may be ... envied, ridiculed, counted upon as a tool and fallen in love with, or at least selected as a future husband, and yet remain virtually unknown – known merely as a cluster of signs for his neighbors' false suppositions," she reflects.

When "Middlemarch" first appeared serially in Blackwood's Magazine in 1871-72, it not only won critical acclaim but also became an instant bestseller. Comparing the bestseller lists of our time with those of Victorian times might not be flattering to us.

We have plenty of excuses for our mental laziness. We claim we're too busy to read long novels, our attention spans are shorter, the pace of life has quickened. Ironically enough, the narrator of "Middlemarch" makes exactly the same observation at one point, comparing the busy, rush-rush industrial society of the Victorians with the leisurely, rural world of the 18th-century novelist Henry Fielding. "... Fielding," remarks Eliot, "lived when the days were longer (for time, like money, is measured by our needs), when summer afternoons were spacious, and the clock ticked slowly in the winter evenings." This, she explains, is why she does not digress as widely and ramblingly as the author of "Tom Jones."

"Middlemarch" is, however, a long book. I'm still, happily, in the middle of it. And this, in a way, is another of its attractions. It is a pleasure to read a novel without feeling the pressure to discover its final outcome, a novel that immerses you in another time, place, and way of life. You find yourself so fascinated by your new surroundings that you are glad to delay your eventual departure from them.

Merle Rubin

Courage and Human Rights

PEOPLE sometimes seem to feel human rights have nothing to do with spiritual progress. But one good look at the Bible dissolves such a notion. Spiritual progress inevitably brings greater freedom to our lives. The heroic lives of Moses, Daniel, Paul, and especially Christ Jesus, illustrate this point.

Courage is an inescapable ingredient in the pursuit of spiritual growth. So it must be just as necessary in the pursuit of human rights. That may sound obvious, for it seems that even the smallest steps of progress toward improved human rights and greater spiritual freedom demand great individual courage. That's because steps in gaining human rights often do not come without overcoming fierce resistance.

When God asked Moses to return to Egypt to lead the children of Israel out of slavery, Moses demurred. He complained, the Bible tells us in Exodus, of his own inadequacy, and objected that there was no one to accompany him. Could it be that Moses did not feel he had sufficient courage for this task?

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

God's power and presence silenced Moses' objections, and he did go forward, following God's bidding. God's assurance, "My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest," gave Moses the courage he needed to free the people of Israel. Their journey has become an example, for many people, of how individuals and nations can escape the slavery of materialism and learn to worship God, Spirit. The Israelites' freedom came as they responded to God's command to worship Him alone. "My presence shall go with thee." Isn't recognizing this presence of God the basis of real courage? And since God is infinite, He is not just powerful—He is all-power. This power is not measured in terms of muscle or material might. Instead, we find it in His love, tenderness, and unfailing care.

God is well able to bring peace, healing, and freedom to His children. And His might is squarely behind goodness and justice in every struggle for human rights. Anyone who is concerned with the quest for human rights can trust that the quiet presence of God is always with him or her. When we've responded to His presence, God will guide us wisely and effectively—in our prayers and in just the right practical steps we need to take.

Christian Science throws vital light on the nature of the spiritual courage that's needed in any fight for human rights. It's not bravado or recklessness—not a strong-willed exertion of muscle that goes forward without waiting for God's direction.

The courage we need to be successful in bettering the human condition is modeled after the steadfast bravery that Christ Jesus showed us. It is a willingness to move forward, following God's will even though great barriers may appear. Mary Baker Eddy, author of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, says in this book: "There is too much animal courage in society and not sufficient moral courage. Christians must take up arms against error at home and abroad. They must grapple with sin in themselves and in others, and continue this warfare until they have finished their course. If they keep the faith, they will have the crown of rejoicing."

Make no mistake. While more moral courage is needed in our world, that courage is already at work. It inspires us to join in the quest to know ourselves as we are: man made in God's image. By joining this fight, we'll find ourselves in the best position to pray and act intelligently to help any battle for human rights in which we might find ourselves.

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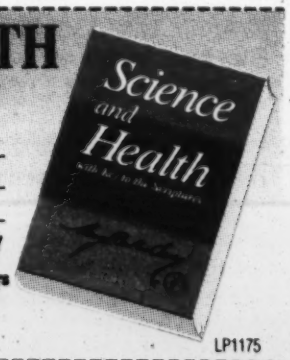


LP1175

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Funding Basic Science

IN what may be a bout of political correctness, the National Academy of Scienees recommended this week that the federal government adopt a more centralized method of allocating its research and development money, including money for basic science.

The motive is laudable. When 43 percent of this country's R&D budget comes from taxpayers, the research community should do what it can to make the most efficient use of the money. And in the case of applied research, if ways can be found to help decisionmakers direct efforts toward developing technologies that will keep the United States economically competitive, all well and good. During the Reagan years, federal support for applied research shifted heavily to defense; adjusting that balance is appropriate.

But if adopted, the academy's proposal for funding basic science could ultimately lead to a triage system, harming an enterprise that even now continues to fuel the nation's economic success.

In the basic sciences, the panel recommends establishing a series of boards that would evaluate US standing in a range of disciplines. Criteria would include the number of students in a field compared with other countries, other nations' funding levels, and how often US scientists' work is cited in journals. These evaluations would be used to steer money to areas that the White House and Congress feel need reinforcement and away from disciplines that don't.

Currently, when Congress allots money to the National Science Foundation, for example, the foundation spreads the money fairly evenly among disciplines, then lets the peer-review process determine which research proposals get funded.

Despite its flaws, this approach stands a better chance of ensuring a balanced approach to basic science than does a set of steering committees. After all, when discussions about US competitiveness arise, the problems do not lie with basic science, but with more nuts-and-bolts issues of manufacturing technologies, marketing strategies, and even the vision to see that an invention or development has market potential.

Britain and Japan have tried to steer basic science to more directly serve economic goals. In both countries, basic science has suffered. The US, while meeting its economic needs, should not repeat their mistakes.

Sensible National Service

DEFENSIVE words like "compromise" and "reconciliation" are being applied to almost every Clinton program, from the buffeted budget to any and all health care proposals. Translated, this means: The White House is having to give up a lot to get a little.

By contrast, the president's national service plan, allowing college students to pay for tuition by public service work, sailed with one-sided approval through two tests – a voice vote from the House Education and Labor Committee and a 14-3 vote from the Senate Labor and Human Services Committee.

Under the proposal, the new National Service Corporation would involve 25,000 students next year and grow to an estimated 150,000 students by 1997. Participants would work in fields such as education, the environment, and law enforcement. For each year of service, students would receive $5,000 to pay off school loans.

After the Capitol Hill trouncings of recent weeks, this relatively clear-cut triumph must leave the White House in a pleasant state of amazement, though the full test will come when the bill goes to the floor after the Fourth of July recess.

There are, of course, some reservations. A number of Republicans question the health and child-care benefits included in the plan. A few oppose the $7,440 stipends that would keep students afloat while they work off up to $10,000 in college tuition.

Still, even the critics accept the basic justice of the proposal in a way that promises to save it from turning into just another case of political wheeling and dealing. Of all the promises made during the campaign, this is one that has not been forgotten, one that deserves to be kept.

Clinton's description of the program as a domestic Peace Corps is not mere hype. Good sense and idealism coexist at a bargain price, all things considered, certainly on the scale of Stealth bombers. (The plan's first-year price tag is about $400 million.)

After noting the absence of a honeymoon period for his administration, President Clinton summed up the favorable response to the plan with a certain justified satisfaction. "We have known for a long time that national service will bring Americans together," he said. "It's good to see that it brings Congress together as well."

Furthermore, by giving students a socially useful way to pay back tuition, national service sets a small but imaginative precedent for balancing the government's books.

The opposition in Belgrade has been crushed. But things will get more extreme still.

Serb Dictator Milosevic Ready To Be as Radical as It Takes

By Davor Glavas

THREE weeks ago Serb president Slobodan Milosevic deposed, in a classically authoritarian way, the president of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic. The next day Vuk Draskovic, Mr. Milosevic's main opposition, was arrested and brutally beaten as he led a protest against the antidemocratic Serb government. Mr. Draskovic and his wife were put in jail for what could be 15 years; last week his injuries were serious enough to transfer Draskovic to a hospital.

During the brief Belgrade riots following Mr. Cosic's ouster, two policeman were killed and many participants hurt. Does this mean a settling of accounts – "Serbs against Serbs" – has begun? No. Recent events in Belgrade signify the steady elimination of all Milosevic's political opponents, save one. Moreover, this "political cleansing" campaign was conducted by the last contender for Serb president – the self-proclaimed fascist "Chetnik" leader Vojislav Seselj. I feel it is only a matter of time before Mr. Seselj himself is eliminated by Milosevic.

I do not believe events in the former Yugoslavia can be seen simply as 'Balkan atavism.' There is a much bigger game being played here.

The character of these events must be known. Cosic supposedly threatened a coup. This is absurd. As the main author of "the memorandum," the intellectual argument for a "Greater Serbia," Cosic is the spiritual father of Serbian nationalism. In United Nations and EC negotiations, Cosic bought Milosevic much time to plunder Bosnia by proposing various peacemaking schemes. In the late 1980s, Cosic wrote the speeches Milosevic used in rallies preparing Serbia for war.

Unfortunately, Cosic wanted to become a politician with a policy of his own. This made him an unnecessary obstacle; like others in Milosevic's path he was mercilessly brought down. This was quite predictable. When the international community decided not to intervene in Bosnia, Milosevic no longer needed anyone to be a make-believe peacemaker. Washington's capitulation gave Milosevic a free hand not only to go on massacring in Bosnia, but it also gives him power to become the absolute, untouchable master of Serbia.

If the means of the federal president's elimination turn out to be a stronger fascist named Seselj, so much the better.

Does a Milosevic-Seselj power nexus mark the beginning, as some say, of a red-black alliance in Belgrade? Nowhere in the world, except Russia, do we find the communist-fascist connection now found in Serbia. Still, there is no real coalition. Seselj's radicals are useful to Milosevic for silencing the opposition, replacing the disobedient, for street fights, and for suppressing strikes. They are like Nazi brownshirts. It is clear the political leadership of Serbia participates in the distribution of loot obtained by paramilitary plundering, racketeering, blackmail, and smuggling. Belgrade needs paramilitary leaders. Still, Milosevic carefully oversees Seselj's power and recently retired several Army generals close to Seselj.

Milosevic knows Seselj wants his job. But the Serbian dictator is not a fossilized old communist who will relinquish his throne. This is the heart of my argument: I do not believe events in the former Yugoslavia can be seen simply as "Balkan atavism." There is a much bigger game being played here. It is often forgotten that Milosevic was given his credentials in 1988 by Mikhail Gorbachev – at the same time the West was enchanted by "the Kremlin reformer." Milosevic enjoys the support of Boris Yeltsin's Moscow too – though not as strongly as in Mr. Gorbachev's days. But Milosevic is admired by many top Russians as one who has, with extreme efficiency, destroyed a unified Europe – and a Euro-American alliance. Such a man creates an open space for the never-say-die idea of Russian expansionism. The West threatens Milosevic only if he spreads his aggression to Kosovo. But Milosevic will not be caught in that trap. He does not make suicidal political moves.

Hence, the thought that a local fascist named Seselj, however ambitious he may be, could spoil such a big game is not serious. Seselj may be of use to Milosevic for many months. Serbia is pressed by economic sanctions, and it is only a matter of time when social discontent reaches a dangerous level.

In countries with scant democratic culture like Serbia today, discontent is controlled and channeled only by radicalism. So for reasons of self-preservation, Milosevic will in time move closer and closer to Seselj's extremist program – only to absorb him ideologically in the final move, and perhaps eliminate him physically. That will probably not happen before autumn. But nor will it happen later than next spring. Moreover, it will happen with no major rebellion or civil war. Milosevic's particular mixture of totalitarianism and demagoguery cannot be destroyed "from within."

Is there a reason to mourn for Cosic, as some Serbs do? No. The West is lost in various types of egotism and in useless micro-strategies. It doesn't matter whether on top of the Kremlin, from which the disintegration of the Western alliance is being observed, there is a red or black flag. The present one is only temporary. Milosevic knows this.

■ *Davor Glavas was the editor of DANAS, the last independent news magazine in Croatia before it was closed by the Tudjman regime last September.*

Break Nuclear 'Addiction'

US should refrain from testing warheads after moratorium expires

By Mark Sommer

IT'S not easy to shake the atomic addiction. The Clinton administration proposes to resume underground nuclear testing after a nine-month moratorium, due to expire on July 1. This is not an altogether surprising move. But it is unwise and unnecessary, for it would undermine efforts to reduce nuclear proliferation without materially improving the weapons' safety or reliability.

The current United States moratorium followed the lead of Russia, which has not tested in several years, and France, which ceased last summer. The US cessation is the result of a compromise drafted by Senate Majority leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R) of Oregon, both of whom favored an immediate ban, and Sen. James Exon (D) of Nebraska. The law stipulates that tests can resume after July 1 of this year but only until 1996, when a comprehensive test ban would go into effect. As many as 15 nuclear tests can be conducted between 1993 and '96, but only to assure the continued safety and reliability of the current nuclear stockpile.

The Clinton administration is now reported to favor conducting nine tests during that period: six for the US and three for Britain. But congressional opposition to any further testing is building, and many senators now support a "no first test" policy, which would prohibit the US and Britain from conducting any nuclear tests unless another country did so first.

Several tests would gauge the performance of safety upgrades designed to prevent accidents and terrorist incidents. But the Pentagon has already stated that it will not install any upgrades on the missiles it has in service, and the law forbids testing such devices if they are not to be installed. Upgrading Trident II missiles and warheads alone would cost more than $3 billion, a sum that suddenly the cost-conscious Pentagon believes can be better spent elsewhere. Moreover, as Defense Department planners admit, safety problems can most effectively be addressed by retiring older weapons and removing them from airplanes.

During the election campaign, candidate Clinton favored an immediate comprehensive test ban. Defense Secretary Les Aspin reportedly leans in a similar direction. Pressure to resume testing derives primarily from the Pentagon, the Department of Energy, and the three giant federal weapons labs that historically have depended on nuclear arms research for their bread and butter. If the US stands to gain little in the safety and reliability of its weapons, it stands to lose far more security by triggering a new round of tests. Russia and France are widely expected to follow suit if the US resumes testing. Britain, which also uses the Nevada Test Site, has pressed hard for an American resumption. China, the sole nuclear nation that has ignored the current moratorium, can be expected to move ahead without restraint. And most troubling of all, a host of near-nuclear nations ranging from Iran and Iraq to North Korea, Pakistan, and Libya will find it that much easier to pursue their programs, obtaining nuclear information and materials from clandestine suppliers, especially in the chaotic remnants of the former Soviet empire.

With the next review conference for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to be held in 1995, a resumption of testing now will only further undermine the credibility of nuclear-weapons states, who have long argued that nuclear have-nots should refrain from developing weapons that they themselves refuse to relinquish. Even if the "haves" come to the table with a pledge to cease testing altogether should a comprehensive ban be reached, consensus will be more difficult to achieve with widespread testing again under way.

TOM HUGHES

Glenn Seaborg, the Nobel Prize-winning former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, once was asked what would have happened if President Kennedy had accepted Premier Khruschev's offer to sign a comprehensive test ban 30 years ago. He concluded that even if the Soviets had cheated to the maximum extent possible, the world would still have been far ahead of where it is 50,000 nuclear weapons later. Today, verification technologies are so refined that militarily significant cheating has become a virtual impossibility.

No nation has detonated a nuclear weapon in more than a year. The world would be better off if we used the current hiatus to conclude a comprehensive test ban now rather than lead the way in another round of testing and hope, like the reforming addict, that we can all summon the political will to stop for a good three years down the line.

■ *Mark Sommer is a research associate in the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at the University of California at Berkeley.*

US Should Push for Enlarged NATO Role

By George Zarycky

THE Clinton administration's June 10 announcement of a December NATO summit meeting to discuss the alliance's role as a post-cold-war security organization is long overdue. Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced the summit at the NATO defense ministers' meeting in Athens, where the European allies agreed to join the United States in providing air cover for United Nations peacekeepers in Bosnia.

Three years after the Warsaw Pact's collapse, NATO has yet to seriously consider most post-communist nations for membership. Moreover, the West has undermined these states' attempts to establish regional mutual security or defense organizations. Mr. Christopher's announcement clearly was timed to offset a concurrent French proposal that the European Community (EC) set up a new European security pact in order to prevent "a second Yugoslavia."

The French plan, which would involve the US and Canada, was presented at the EC summit in Copenhagen, Denmark, which ended Tuesday. The US announcement may also have been prompted by a joint Polish-Ukrainian plan – spelled out before President Lech Walesa's visit to Kiev in late May – for a "security zone" that would have included the Baltic states, Ukraine, Belarus, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Austria. According to Poland's *Gazeta Wyborcza*, NATO and the US pressed Mr. Walesa to squelch the plan, which called on signatories to respect the inviolability of borders, develop broader cooperation and confidence-building measures, work together to prevent conflicts, promote disarmament, and avoid unilateral force.

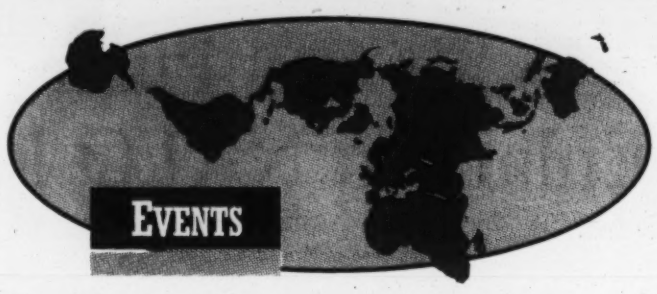
IN this context, NATO's moves over the last few years to redefine its function in light of new political and security contingencies have been sluggish and inadequate. In a series of recent summits, NATO agreed to reduce troop strength and endorsed a "new strategic concept." It featured a reduction of nuclear forces and a proposed "rapid reaction corps" to deal with small-scale crises. It also set up the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), a largely symbolic body that includes most East and Central European countries and former Soviet republics. While the US would remain engaged in Europe, an expanded role was envisioned for the EC, the 53-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and the Western European Union (WEU).

But the alliance's do-nothingness in the early stages of the Bosnia conflict, when selective air strikes might have discouraged Serbian escalation, and its failure to extend a security umbrella to all NACC members, forced economically hard-pressed countries to try to beef up their military forces.

The French proposal notwithstanding, NATO remains the most credible multinational force in Europe. President Clinton's call for a December summit indicates continued US commitment to European security affairs. A key item on the agenda must be the full integration of former Soviet bloc countries into NATO's political and military organs. A truly pan-European security arrangement, with a nuclear capability, would be an effective deterrent to aggression and adventurism in a volatile, vulnerable region. Such a plan would finally eliminate a lingering cold war mind-set, which holds that although Europe is no longer divided by ideology and Soviet tanks, Western and Russian spheres of influence remain, and that Russia remains a superpower with requisite prerogatives.

The political objective of a new NATO should be to smooth the road to democracy and market reforms. An important step in that direction must be an expanded mandate to preserve what is, at best, a very shaky peace in most of the former East bloc. Mr. Clinton's apparent recognition of this fact is encouraging, but it remains to be seen if the administration is resolute enough to make the tough decisions to secure a measure of peace and stability in the new Europe.

■ *George Zarycky is the specialist for Central Europe at Freedom House, which monitors political rights and civil liberties around the world.*



US ECONOMIC FIGURES RELEASED

The United States economy is inching along at a slower pace than economists expected. The Commerce Department said yesterday the gross domestic product – the country's total output of goods and services – grew at an annual rate of 0.7 percent from January through March, down from the 4.7 percent gain of the October-December quarter. This represented the second downward revision to GDP activity and was blamed on slower growth in consumer spending and business inventories and a worsening US trade deficit.

While economists expected a weaker GDP report, they were surprised by a second report Wednesday showing that orders to US factories for "big ticket" durable goods plunged 1.6 percent in May. They had expected a healthy increase of around 1.5 percent following two months of falling demand. Durable goods orders had dropped a sharp 3.4 percent in March and were down 0.2 percent in April. Still, some analysts say the economy will gradually strengthen as the year progresses.

New Yugoslavia plan

International mediators launched a new bid yesterday to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina by creating three linked mini-states for Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, insisting the country stay together.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said he was ready to agree to the battered Balkan republic becoming a confederation.

Mr. Owen has made it clear that he and his fellow-mediator, Thorvald Stoltenberg, prefer an earlier plan that created 10 ethnically based provinces but did not provide for such a sharp division of the three communities.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia, refused to attend the talks on the new plan, which he has said would amount to "genocide" against the Muslims.

Haiti's leaders to meet

Haiti's exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide will meet with Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, the military leader who ousted him, the Venezuelan ambassador to the UN Security Council said yesterday.

Mr. Aristide agreed Tuesday to hold talks on restoring democracy, a day after General Cedras agreed to meet with him. The two are expected to meet this weekend, perhaps on the island of Aruba.

Despite the progress, a UN oil and arms embargo against Haiti took effect as scheduled Wednesday. The sanctions are the toughest international pressure yet on the military rulers to reinstate democratic rule.

Hong Kong handover

China signaled yesterday that it will push ahead with plans for an alternative power center to British rule before the colony reverts to Chinese control in 1997.

According to reports in the pro-Beijing Hong Kong press, China is forming a 57-member committee to prepare for the handover of Hong Kong, headed by Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and comprised of sympathetic legislators and some of the colony's most powerful tycoons.

First threatened last spring amid a bitter dispute over democratic reforms in Hong Kong, the committee is widely viewed as a "shadow government" in the colony.

Israeli arms deal

Former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, now chief of staff in Chile, is going to Israel to complete an arms deal. Sources close to Chile's democratically elected government have warned Israel that Gen. Pinochet is still seen as a threat to Chilean democracy. Israel Radio reported that the deal is worth hundreds of millions of dollars, and said government leaders are divided over whether to permit the visit. According to foreign reports, Israel has sold weapons to several South American countries.

Detroit's mayor quits

Coleman Young, Detroit's mayor, announced on Tuesday he will not seek an unprecedented sixth term. Mr. Young was the first black mayor of the nation's eighth-largest city, whose population is now more than 75 percent black. Elected six years after the 1967 race riots, he counts integrating Detroit's police force as one of his greatest accomplishments.

– Compiled by Faye Bowers

To Japanese journalists, foreign reporters are about as welcome as American rice

Tokyo's Exclusive Media Clubs

THE press room at the Tokyo Stock Exchange is a cozy place. Cozy, that is, if you are Japanese and work for a big Japanese media organization.

You are entitled to a telephone, a desk, and first crack at breaking news. You are a member of a club whose rules work much like a cartel's.

When two foreign journalists recently entered the press room to demand equal access, they were booted out. Or rather shouted out. "We were told to stay in the hallway," says David Butts of Bloomberg Business, an American financial wire.

The order to leave came not from the Stock Exchange but from the Japanese journalists. The press corps here has set rules on who can cover the Exchange's news.

A LETTER FROM TOKYO

Almost every major institution in Japan comes with a club of journalists who keep outsiders out, and who hold great sway over the institution and each other. Foreign journalists have been as welcome as American rice.

In a profession whose commodity is information, journalists are as vulnerable as business people are to trade barriers. Japan's so-called *kisha* (journalists') clubs are a hidden barrier that dates back a century.

Discrimination against foreign journalists has been eroding slowly. At the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), foreign journalists have been allowed to attend briefings. But they are only observers and cannot ask questions.

Last year the United States Embassy began to complain about the unfairness of the *kisha* clubs to the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association. On June 10, the association issued guidelines that allow foreign journalists to join the *kisha* clubs, as long as they meet certain criteria.

The clubs operate "under an implicit agreement that, in return for access to a government agency, political party, or industrial group, nothing embarrassing will be printed," wrote Chalmers Johnson, Japan expert at the University of California, San Diego, in a recent column. "Until Japan relaxes these cartels of the mind, its process of internationalization is meaningless," he says.

All last year, the Japanese press agreed to censor coverage of the crown prince's search for a bride. The prince did not want the media to scare off his marriage prospects. The media wanted to ensure it had access to the wedding. The foreign press in Tokyo, however, did not agree to the coverage ban. As a result, the Washington Post scooped the Japanese press by reporting who had been chosen to be crown princess.

For Japanese beat journalists, known as *ban-kisha*, who cover individual politicians, such coziness with sources has serious consequences. These journalists "do not report the facts that influential politicians want ... hidden," says Raisuke Miyawaki, former public relations adviser to former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. This "unethical hiding" of such facts as bribery is the main culprit for the weak state of Japanese politics, he says. The *ban-kisha* have built a wall of secrecy between voters and politicians.

In many cases, *kisha* clubs have the power to punish those who err from their rules. A Japanese carmaker, for instance, recently released information about a new product to a journalist outside the *kisha* club that covers the industry. The club boycotted all news of that company until the chairman apologized and bowed in contrition to journalists.

Foreign journalists are ambivalent about joining a club that may go against their own journalistic standards. But that may be a price some are willing to pay for access to news sources in Japan.

At the very least, the next time foreign journalists knock on a press room in Japan, perhaps no one will shout them out.

– Clayton Jones